Women and Golf in Scotland

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

'I hereby declare that I am the composer of this thesis and the work is entirely my own'.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the development of women's golf and patterns of participation in Scotland from the middle of the 19th to the end of the 20th century. While sport has recently become a more widely researched topic than previously, little work has been directed towards its investigation in relation to women in Scotland. To date, histories of golf in particular have tended to focus on the male experience and the traditional concept of male dominance in golf. Taking into account relevant contemporary sport history research, this thesis addresses the question of how the participation of women in golf at all levels can contribute to a better understanding of an aspect of women's lives in the Scottish context.

The ethnological approach, crucial to this thesis, calls for the collection and analysis of oral, documentary and visual sources, with the purpose of highlighting the experience of individuals through time. Importantly, the use of oral sources hitherto little exploited as a central part of that evidence, provides a vital form of evidence from the 1930s to the 1990s. The individual experience throws light on questions regarding the accessibility to the game in terms of class, gender and age from its organisational base to the enclave of the golf club.

With reference to the late 19th and early 20th century, the early development of women's involvement in sport is briefly outlined in order to establish motives for participation. In a sport which women can play for much of their lives, the introduction to golf is examined in different social networks: in the family, the educational system and in the golf clubs. The motivation of leadership in women's golf is also analysed as is the structure of organisation and development within the governing bodies of women's golf. The thesis also examines issues and attitudes surrounding the relationship of amateurs to professional players in golf. How women golfers are perceived and how they present themselves in terms of their gender is explored through clothing and playing styles. The significance of opportunities to pursue golf through coaching schemes and scholarships is explored. This examination of women's participation in the east of Scotland through oral testimony, gives an insight into the competitive nature of the individual alongside those who pursue the game purely for pleasure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am especially grateful to all those who agreed to be interviewed and also those who found time to talk to me about golf. I would like to thank them all for their personal contributions. I also extend my thanks to the staff at Ladies' Golf Union, the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association and the British Golf Museum for giving me access to material in their archives. I am indebted to Ian McKenzie from the photographic department in the School of Scottish Studies, for his help with the illustrative material.

'Patience is a virtue' - so special thanks to Dr Margaret Mackay and Dr Trevor Griffiths for providing endless support, encouragement and understanding.

I am indebted to my family and friends especially non-golfers - Dorothy, Denise, Anke and Aude without whom this would not have been possible.

"Golf is a perfect game for women; here they can walk at their own pace, in fresh air. At golf they may "drive" as they like, no harm results. Their lungs are filled with fresh air, their shoulders expanded. They tread lightly the verdant pasture land. Nothing in the way of healthful exercise, incited by an object in view is to compare with golf" (Fancourt Barnes 1906).

I dedicate this to all 'the ladies on the links' but especially 'my caddie', who kept me on the fairway and out of the rough.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

People interviewed or consulted between 1990 and 1999

Name	D.O.B.	From	Year Recorded
1. Fran Beckett	c.1941	Edinburgh	1998 NR*
2. Joyce Beveridge	c.1948	Edinburgh	1996 NR
3. Ken Bruff	c.1946	Edinburgh	1998 NR
4. Hamish Buchan	b.1944	Edinburgh	1996 NR
5. Elizabeth Bushnell	c.1917	St Andrews	1996 NR
6. Linda Caine	c.1967	Edinburgh	1997 NR
7. June Caithness	c.1947	St Andrews	1998 NR
8. Mae Charles	c.1915	Edinburgh	1990 Rec*
9. Alice Clark	b.1919	Edinburgh	SA 1996.55*
10. Neil Colquhoun	c.1967	Edinburgh	1998 NR
11. Jane Connachan	b.1964	Fenton Barns	SA 1999.02
12. William Craig	c.1909	Edinburgh	1999 NR
13. Noreen Fenton	b.1947	Edinburgh	1999 NR
14. John George	b.1944	Edinburgh	1996 NR
15. Ian Graham	c.1917	Edinburgh	1997 NR
16. Fiona Grieve	c.1966	St Andrews	1998 NR
17. Isobel Harvie	b.1917	Melrose	1999 NR
18. George Harvie	b.1918	Melrose	1999 NR
19. Jessie Harvie	b.1911	Hamilton	1999 NR
20. Ruby Hay	b.1895	Penicuik	deceased
21. Joan Henderson	b.1933	Penicuik	1999 NR
22. Ethel Jack	b.1934	Edinburgh	SA 1995.105
23. Marcia Ellen Julius	b.1956	St Andrews	1999 NR
24. Gillian Kirkwood	b.1949	Longniddry	SA 1998.08
25. Vikki Laing	b.1981	Musselburgh	SA 1998.01
26. David Mackay	c.1941	Edinburgh	1999 NR
27. Elaine Mackie	c.1968	St Andrews	1997 NR
28. Seonaid McAinsh	c.1938	St Andrews	1998 NR
29. Shonagh McEwan	b.1977	Edinburgh	SA 1999.01
30. Nancy MacFarlane	c.1917	Edinburgh	1999 NR
31. Lachlan McIntosh	c.1944	St Andrews	1998 NR
32. Eileen McLagan	c.1938	Edinburgh	1999 NR
33. George McLeod	c.1940	Edinburgh	1990 Rec
34. Dorothy Mathewson	c.1924	Edinburgh	1999 NR
35. Anne Millar	b.1919	Perth	1999 NR
36. Ian Mitchell	b.1942	Edinburgh	1998 NR
37. Helen Nimmo	b.1906	Edinburgh	SA 1997.130
38. Catherine Purves	b.1941	Dunbar	SA 1998.06
39. Jane Sanderson	c.1952	Pencaitland	1999 NR
40. Anne Sime	c.1939	Gullane	SA1997.127,128
41. William Skene	b.1890	Edinburgh	1990 Rec
42. Susan Simpson	c.1965	Drumoig	1998 NR

43. Doreen Smith	c.1932	Edinburgh	SA 1998.02
44. Margaret Sneddon	c.1933	Gullane	1997 NR
45. Marigold Speir	c.1934	St Andrews	SA 1998.05
46. Bryden Stephen	c.1954	Dunbar	SA1998.07
47. Liz Thom	c.1962	Dunbar	1998 NR
48. Jessie Valentine	b.1915	Perth	SA 1995.103,104
49. Margaret Walker	b.1912	Livingston	SA 1997.129
50. Marjorie Whitton	b.1924	Edinburgh	SA 1996.53,54
51. Janet Wake	b.1944	Edinburgh	1998 NR
Dunbar Grammar School			
52.Vicky Berrie	b.1983	Dunbar	SA 1998.07
53.Gemma Davidson	b.1985	Dunbar	SA 1998.07
54.Kelly Sives	b.1983	Dunbar	SA 1998.06
St Leonards School, St Andrews			
Group interview			
55.Katherine Clark	b.1983	St Andrews	SA 1998.03
56.Susan Clark	b.1984	Lundin Links	
57.Rowan Maitland	b.1985	St Andrews	
Group interview	b.1980-83		SA 1998.04
58.Rachel Drysdale			
59.Anna Gordon			
60.Gardis Greger			
61.Davina Halliday			
62.Natasha Hanshaw			
63.Alex Hodge			
64.Gillian Peters			
65.Gillian Reid			
66.Becky Robinson			
67.Sara Vaisey			
68.Judith de Vries			
69.Jenny Walker			
70.Elaine Whitfield			

*

NR* Not recorded

Rec* Interviewed in 1990

SA* all SA tapes are in the Sound Archive - School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Notes on quotations used in the text:

Extracts from recorded interviews appear in the text throughout the chapters.

" ... " indicates that words in between have been left out. Words within [ ] brackets have been inserted to indicate a missing word or name - for example Jean Anderson [formerly Jean Donald].

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Golf represents a sporting activity which is both social and skilful. The game which evolved on the Scottish links beside the coastal towns most notably at Leith, Musselburgh and St Andrews, developed into its final form here in the 18th century and while much has been written on the history of the game with the focus on the involvement of men, the position of women has not been explored to the same extent. It is the aim in this thesis to analyse the historical development of women's golf from the late 19th to the end of the 20th century and account for change or continuity in patterns of participation which can contribute to a better understanding of the women involved in the game in Scotland. As Edinburgh, East Lothian and Fife have a high concentration of golfers, these areas provide the main focus for this study.

It could be argued that British history in general has been a gendered, often class-based history, where divisions have been along sexual lines with the male experience being central and the female peripheral. The contribution of women has tended to be marginalised in mainstream histories. In Scotland in the 19th as well as the 20th century, women played an active part in the shaping of society. Breitenbach and Gordon (1992:8) point to women's involvement outside the home in politics, religion, philanthropy and education as being widespread, but this has not always been recognised as being important. Furthermore they consider that the significance of women's experience has tended to be sidelined by a predominantly male Scottish historical establishment (1992:2) and it is women historians who have had to give recognition to their own achievements. Since the early 1970s women have been re-writing history to include themselves.[1] Within the broader discipline of gendered history and through the work of sociologists and social historians, the contemporary

[1] One area of research is the suffrage movement where Scottish work includes that of E King (1978) *The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement* and L Leneman (1991) *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland.*

feminist perspective where "gender is the fundamental unifying concept" is being recognised as an important marker for the position of women in history (Brotherstone, Simonton and Walsh 1999: xii).

While women's participation in sport and leisure is an area which occupies a significant social space in the 20th century, it is generally agreed that women have been largely excluded from the history of British sport traditionally regarded as a male preserve. This leads one to believe that women were not part of the sporting revolution of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. According to Tranter (1994:35), what was partly responsible for their limited involvement was the "ideology of domesticity" which he acknowledges, "was sufficient to restrict women to a subordinate, minor and persistently derided role". Therefore the discussion of women in sport has tended to be relegated to a few pages in historical accounts or a separate chapter as an acknowledgement that they have had and have a limited interest and involvement.[2] Although there is a limited text on women in the Scottish dimension, the subject of women participating in golf in the 19th century has received some recognition by historians since the late 1980s.[3] In examining what has already been revealed by these scholars and others in contemporary research, this study, which includes an examination of women's participation in golf in the inter-war, post-war and contemporary periods, will add to what has been written and bring to the fore some of the women who participate in golf in Scotland.

Earlier works of academic sports historians have made little reference to oral evidence and more attention requires to be paid to sport which can be "informed by oral history". Allied to the evidence from the written word, oral testimony can help to reveal the experience of some of those who are involved. Cahn (1994a:594) accords value to oral history as an important source and its possibilities in addressing women's involvement in the history of sport. Because women appear to be experiencing pleasure and empowerment from participating in sport, Cahn considers

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[2] Among important exceptions to this are Allen Guttmann (1991) *Women's Sports,* who devotes his account to women only, while two general studies of sport, Richard Holt (1989) *Sport and the British.* and John Lowerson, (1993) *Sport and the English Middle Classes 1870-1914* are significantly important in highlighting women's contribution to sport. See Bibliography.

[3] See N. Tranter (1989) 'Organised Sport and the Middle Class Woman in 19th Century Scotland' in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* Vol. 6 No. 1, pp.31-48; J. Lowerson (1994) 'Golf and the Making of Myths' in G. Jarvie & G. Walker *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*; N. Tranter (1994) 'Women and Sport in the 19th Century' in G. Jarvie & G. Walker *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*; J. Burnett (1995) *Sporting Scotland*; M. E. Julius (1998) *For the Good of Golf and St Andrews: The St Rule Club Centenary*; D. Hamilton (1999) *Golf: Scotland's Game*; G. Jarvie & J. Burnett (eds) (2000) *Sport, Scotland and the Scots.* See Bibliography.

it important to place on record the responses which participants of all ages can make. Oral testimony can provide a level of detail that is "unavailable in written sources" and a voice which has not been heard hitherto. Therefore oral testimony is a vital element to the "visibility" of women in this study and gives an opportunity for their voices to be heard.

Contemporary research on women in sport

Importantly, gender issues and the complexity surrounding the participation of women in sport have been a focus for much of the debate within contemporary sports history. Sport in the 19th century was viewed primarily as a symbol of masculine exclusivity in an area of cultural life dominated by the presence of men. Sexual differences were constructs of a society where women's physical and emotional inferiority was apparent. Among scholars who have explored views prevalent in the Victorian period regarding women's biological inferiority, Lorna Duffin and Patricia Vertinsky have focused their approach on the ways in which exercise and sport limited women's participation. The physical image portrayed of women as weak, delicate and prone to illness in the early 19th century led to a confirmation of "social ideas" about women and their nature which limited their roles and abilities. Duffin (Delamont & Duffin 1978:26) argues that this could not have been maintained without medical theory to support it, while Vertinsky (1990:15) concurs in her study, that these medical ideologies concerning the nature of women became powerful forms of social control over women's lives. Jennifer Hargreaves (1987:131) maintains that this theory was "underpinned by the implicit belief that the differences between men and women were biologically determined and hence immutable". Mangan (1989:3) suggests that the foundation for the biological argument based on "pseudo-scientific" argument in the 19th century, was women's physique and was used by "conservative Victorians" to defend the existing social structure. The biological differences between men and women, the most significant being the capacity for women to procreate, limited a women's strength to participate fully in the same areas as men. Middle-class women were warned by the medical profession that they might jeopardise their health and fertility if they dared to venture beyond the domestic arena. Cautions were issued against overstraining their bodies. It should be pointed out that there can be a danger in implying that all middle-class women were uniformly oppressed in this way. As Vertinsky (1990:15) acknowledges, some women considered that a degree of physical exercise was a positive aid to general health.

Although sport had the possibility of widening a sphere of activity for some, middle-class women in general were generally dissuaded from taking part in strenuous physical activities which required strength, aggression and muscularity as these activities were seen as inappropriate and implied masculinity. Jennifer Hargreaves, among other sport historians, has analysed the complexities surrounding these issues. In her examination of the social constructs of gender relating to the female body, as well as the relationship of sport and social class to women, she points to constraints emanating from the social position of women who were expected to adopt "appropriate" behaviour which reflected their gender as well as their class. Hargreaves (1994:51) suggests in her analysis that the "domesticity" of middle-class women in the latter part of the 19th century prevented them from involvement in "vigorous" physical activities which led them in the direction of sports which were more acceptable such as croquet and lawn tennis. If they ventured into more active forms of physical activity like hockey or cricket, they had to demonstrate that femininity and "ladylike" behaviour was their priority. As long as women participated in a way which reflected their femininity, this was considered acceptable behaviour. The Victorian "cult of the family", as Hargreaves observes, was "an intrinsic part of a system of patriarchy with which many women colluded" and gave, as she suggests, "ideological legitimation" to the separate spheres argument (1987:132).

The separation of the sexes emanating from a middle-class concept was viewed as essential to the stability of society and to middle-class ideas of respectability. The social roles and functions of men and women were divided into two parts: the public sphere of work was the domain of men in their role as providers, while the home and the private domestic sphere was the domain of women as, first and foremost, wives and mothers. As Holt (1989:117-8) emphasises, those women who became involved in sport had to strike "a delicate balance between physical emancipation and social respectability". This was one of the reasons why only a minority of middle-class women became participants in sports during the late Victorian and Edwardian period. While middle-class women might have been restricted and limited to some extent, working-class women were inhibited from participation by labour and low incomes in the latter part of 19th century. However by the first decades of the 20th century, as Parratt (1989:144-8) suggests, women were displaying, "a desire for competition and physical involvement" contrary to the social and historical construct of traditional ideas of the way women functioned in sport. Branca (1975:152-3) too points out that

middle-class women were not as "helpless, insipid or unhealthy" as has been suggested, while McCrone (1988:286) concludes that sport was " ... a critical manifestation of liberation and an extremely important part of the larger movement for female autonomy".

Themes and issues examined

The themes and issues which are addressed throughout the thesis are related to the way women have been presented and are represented in the context of sport and gender studies.

The way femininity is maintained as a symbol of distinctiveness is a theme which is continuous to the debate on gender difference in sport. Hargreaves argues that (1994:145) "masculinity and femininity are relative concepts which are socially and historically constructed". While issues reflecting femininity, class and accessibility are important within golf in the Victorian period, femininity in style as well as appearance was a prime reinforcer of the gender difference. Physical strength associated with empowering men was less acceptable in women. Feminine-appropriate sports such as archery, tennis and golf were acceptable and women could emphasise their femininity by the way they dressed and by adopting a playing style which reflected their gender difference. In the late 19th century, women golfers had to comply with what was expected and appear in clothing which hampered to some degree their style of play. If they did not fit the social construct of femininity at this time, they could become the subject of derision. While individuals could be singled out because of their flamboyant nature in approach and dress sense, the majority of women conformed to a style which combined femininity in appearance with elegance of play.

In the second half of the 20th century, what constitutes femininity in style as well as appearance is significant as regards women involved in golf. Even the American post-war golf champion of the 1950s, Louise Suggs, considered that women approached the game in a way which reflected their gender. "Golf" she explained "is not a game of power and brute strength. It is a matter of grace, rhythm, finesse and timing" (Suggs 1954:11). Swinging a golf club with rhythmic elegance rather than lashing out at the ball was seen as desirable. Jessie Valentine (SA 1995.103&104), a former Scottish and British champion, started her backswing with the thought of brushing the turf with the club for at least six inches before swinging through

smoothly and slowly. There was no question for her of lashing out at the ball. As Alice Clark (SA 1996.55), a club golfer pointed out, "ladies don't like to hurt the grass ... you can see that when they take a divot".[4] In her observations of the golf swing she acknowledged distinct differences between men and women in terms of physicality.

> " ... you can see it when watching the women and watching the men that their swing is quite different for the simple reason of our make up. Their arc is quite different to our arc. It's all right if you are flat chested and you will notice that a lot of our very, very fine players have been boyish, like Belle McCorquodale and Jane Connachan and Jessie Valentine, they have been boyish, except Laura Davies and she is an exception" (Alice Clark SA 1996.55).

Good players, although they might appear physically "boyish", can emphasise their femininity in the style and manner of play they adopt. Laura Davies, being a broad-shouldered, big-beamed six-foot-tall woman, might not conform to society's construction of femininity because of her physicality, but is admired for her skill.

Another important theme addressed in the thesis are the complexities of social class.[5] Golf was regarded as predominantly a middle-class game from the late 19th century and social stratification a powerful dimension as a primary constituent of who could be included or excluded. The way women were perceived in golf is complex and concerns issues of social differentiation which deterred as well as determined the extent of involvement for some women. Divisions of age and marital status divide as well as unite women in golf, especially within golf clubs.[6]

It was often middle-class women who could put a social distance between themselves and other women if they so wished. An example of this can be found in the social gulf which existed in Gullane Golf Club in East Lothian in the early 1920s. The majority of members at this time were middle-class ladies from Edinburgh, who were mainly summer residents along with others from the south of England. But the power in the club was invested in a small but forceful minority of wealthy and influential local members who were the decision makers. When a local woman, the licensee of an inn, Miss Minnie Smith, applied to join Gullane Ladies', she had her application for membership refused on the grounds that this was a club for 'ladies'

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[4] See List of informants. See Glossary for definition of divot.
[5] See Chapters Two, Three and Eight.
[6] See Chapter Five.

and did not cater for women in paid employment. This resulted in local 'working' women forming a club within the men's artisan club, Dirleton Castle Golf Club, in 1921 (Paterson 1992:8). Ironically, Dirleton Castle Ladies' Golf Club in turn restricted its membership to women *resident* in Gullane; therefore Edinburgh ladies and visitors from over the border were not allowed to become members (Cox 1996:20).[7]

Being accepted in golf if one is categorised as a social 'outsider' can pose difficulties for participation. During the 1950s and early 1960s, some women, despite their undoubted abilities, were deliberately discriminated against and excluded from achieving recognition by the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association. Personal testimony can give some indication of those who were restricted by social circumstances. In the experience of one interviewee, it was important to have the right accent and have been educated at a fee-paying school in order to be selected for national honours. Ethel Jack (b. 1939), a Scottish internationalist in the late 1950s, cited an example of this from her early competitive days.

> " ... one of the first friends I made in ladies' golf was **xx** [8] from Falkirk and she was definitely not selected to play for Scotland because she was what we would term an artisan, because she worked a crane in British Aluminium in Grangemouth, Falkirk, somewhere round about there and she was definitely not to be selected. I mean it was very obvious. She was a very good golfer.
> *When was that then?*
> H'm ...the 1960s. But she did eventually make it in.
> *But was she de-barred really because of the way she spoke?*
> Oh, yes she wasn't approved of. She didn't speak like "proper" people ...
> *So the idea then was that you were de-barred at that stage from playing if you didn't have the right credentials?*
> If you didn't have the right accent and parents didn't have money.
> *So there must have been a lot of people then that actually were good enough?*
> Oh yes, in Scotland especially there were a lot of people who just weren't quite accepted which was very sad. I mean, I'm not sure that Jessie [Valentine] would have been accepted if she hadn't been so good, but she forced it. When you think about it with her father being an old professional, there can't have been that much money around in that family and whether she had someone backing her or not, I don't know, but I would have thought at the beginning she would have had quite a struggle. But **xx** certainly had a hell of a struggle, just because of the

[7] The daughter of a local butcher, Miss Ecles, was elected secretary and treasurer of the club.
[8] Name withheld.

> class distinction. I was all right, I went to a private school. She went to some wee school in Falkirk" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

It appeared to be difficult to be accepted for national honours in women's golf if you had been educated in the state system at this time. Jessie Valentine would have been difficult to ignore, however, as she had already won a British title in 1937.[9] Ethel Jack was conscious of what was considered to be the 'stereotypical' female golfer in the 1950s.

> " ... most of the people that were playing golf to a very high standard in those days were ladies; i.e. they had loads of money and they didn't work for their living and I think that's what has determined the 'ladies' bit of it all" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

The term 'ladies' has class connotations in golf terminology and is the historical equivalent of 'gentleman amateurs'.[10] Helen Nimmo (SA 1997.130), from an upper-class background, epitomised the lifestyle of a 'lady' golfer during the 1930s. She had been educated privately, was financed by her father and therefore did not require to work. She took it for granted that she could play golf as much as possible, be a member of several clubs, travel to other countries and stay in the best hotels until the outbreak of war effected an enforced break.[11]

One wonders if the term 'ladies' could be discarded as an anachronism symbolic of an age when those who were the main participants were 'ladies of leisure'. Ethel Jack considered the terminology still relevant because of the historical significance. Women golfers, in her opinion, should be still be referred to as 'ladies' as this is the way they are acknowledged in golfing circles even at the end of the 20th century.

> "I would prefer it to be known as 'ladies' golf.
> *Would you really?*
> Yes.
> *And is that because it was known as that from the beginning?*
> Yes, I think so. It's a throwback from the very, very early days of golf when it was 'ladies' that played the game. Now you have artisans who play the game. But if you look back the records all golf clubs have a ladies' section, you have formed a ladies' golf club. I don't think there is

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[9] Jessie won the Ladies' British Open Amateur title in 1937 under her maiden name, Anderson, and then in 1955 and 1958 as Jessie Valentine.
[10] See Chapter Six.
[11] See Chapters Four and Seven.

> any ladies' golf club that refers to 'women' or any "women's golf club" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105). [12]

While sport studies in general have tended to focus on the participation of the young, less consideration has been given to older women. Age, a subject little discussed elsewhere, is an important theme which is addressed as regards women in golf. It is all too easy to forget that while those most active in sport are young, the most active in golf are those in middle age. Personal testimony as well as official club records provides evidence of the extent and significance of participation among the older age group. A factor in the pattern of continuity identified as important however, is the introduction to golf through the family network as is access to sport through the education system. How golf is introduced and at what time in life has a bearing on the make-up of the future membership within golf clubs.[13] These are the themes and issues which are considered important in this study of women in golf in Scotland.

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[12] An exception is the Women Watsonian Golf Club formed by the former pupils of George Watson's Ladies' College in 1930. See Chapter Four.

[13] See Chapter Five.

METHODOLOGY

Personal involvement

As a member of a golf club of more than thirty years standing, a former committee member and lady captain, my involvement in women's golf is such that I have developed an interest in the past lives of women golfers as well as in the present women's game. By talking and playing with women of different ages, experience and social backgrounds, this research has been conducted as an 'insider', but with an 'outsider's' curiosity. Who were these women, why and how did they start to play and what was their experience of the game? I considered it important that the present as well as the past should be represented and women should have an opportunity to talk about what golf means in their lives. All the informants were pleased to have been given the opportunity to express their point of view and when asked, were forthcoming in lending photographs and other documentation which might otherwise have been overlooked. It has to be acknowledged, however, that problems can be encountered when researching and conducting interviews as an 'insider' with a knowledge of the game. Some informants had to be pressed to go into detail and assumed my knowledge of the subject. Other informants who were known to me personally had a tendency in some cases to go off at a tangent on an unrelated subject and the interview could become side-tracked. However, the positive aspects of a free-ranging first interview outweighed the negative and in certain cases it was possible to follow up queries by another visit or by telephone or letter. On the part of men who were approached, while they were supportive of the aims of this thesis, they were somewhat reluctant to be recorded.[14] An initial request by letter made to Michael Bonallack of the ruling body of golf, the Royal and Ancient Golf Club in St Andrews, asking to be put in touch with members who might have some observations to make of the women's game, resulted in a curt reply.

> "I am afraid that there are very few, if any, local members here at the Royal &Ancient Golf Club who would be able to help you ... As you probably realise, the R&A does not have lady members".[15]

However access to the R & A was obtained on St Andrews Day, November 30 when the public is invited to view the members' lounge and trophy room.[16]

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[14] William Skene of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, referred to in Chapter Five, was recorded in 1990 for another golf-related project, as was George McLeod of the Thistle Club in Edinburgh.
[15] Letter to Jane.George from M. F. Bonallack. February 2 1996.

Introduction to the methodology

It is important that in the approach to the subject of women and golf in Scotland, the major sources are examined. The subject is analysed from a variety of perspectives which include the study of written material both historical and contemporary, visual and material sources and crucially, oral testimony. The need for acute source criticism and contextual focus is well expressed by de Hart.

> "We recognise that every source is a historical construction, embedded with assumptions, intent and interpretation. We see more clearly how relational and fragmented in its representation of historical reality is all of the information available to us" (de Hart 1993:595).

While it is important and relevant to analyse what is contained in historical, documentary and contemporary material sources, these can only reveal so much in the process of evaluation. Lummis (1987:11) considers that "the value of any historical evidence is not entirely intrinsic but is affected by the amount and quality of the sources of similar evidence". Therefore to approach the subject of women's golf as an ethnologist requires that the human experience is examined as well, along with other sources of historical evidence which are available. The evaluation of all types of evidence objectively is necessary in order to trace continuity as well as change.

Part of the ongoing acquisition of historical knowledge comes from personal testimony and oral history gathered from informants, which not only gives another dimension to our understanding of the past but is part of the broader historical argument. While it is important to acknowledge the variety of methods of collecting data used in other academic disciplines, ethnologists believe that oral history has as much validity and people's memories are a source of information which requires serious evaluation. (Lummis 1987:13). Questions are sometimes asked as to whether oral reminiscence is reliable as historical information and how the experience of a few can form the basis of a general social interpretation. But should not the same be asked of "documentary evidence"? Thompson (1988:273) considers that oral evidence "springing from direct personal experience ... is valuable precisely because

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[16] When visiting the Royal and Ancient on November 30 1997, I was privileged to be shown the trophy presented by Joyce Wethered in the North Room, which was not open to the public. I am grateful to Lachlan McIntosh, the members' secretary, who was aware of my interest.

it could come from no other source". While personal testimony from a range of people highlights variety and diversity, it is as representative as that of distinct and 'diverse' written evidence and can add to an understanding of the subject as knowledge and experience "from within".

The value of personal testimony

It is also important in a contemporary historical study to examine the recent past and this can be undertaken using personal testimony. Women's involvement in golf is one of the areas of the recent past where personal testimony can provide an important dimension which helps to redress the lack of scholarship on the subject hitherto. Oral evidence gathered from participants involved in playing and observing golf has proved indispensable to this study. In the course of interviewing women and some men from different generations, a wide range and variety of personal experience is revealed. If for example, one can hear first-hand accounts of how women were introduced to golf, why they joined a particular club or how they dealt with the responsibilities of office, then this can only add to the way that we analyse and interpret other forms of evidence. Such information helps to throw light on why women play golf and whether or not they have been influenced by other family members or role models. It also gives an opportunity to women to consider some of the negative aspects of golf surrounding the difficulties of learning to play or being part of a minority in a golf club as well as the positive aspects. Personal testimony gives voice to the pleasures encountered where meeting and the experience of making new friends is as welcomed as are the competitive aspects of golf.

Range of informants

Interviewees were selected from a cross section of socio-economic groups covering a wide range of age and ability, from beginners to experienced amateurs and professionals in order to look at a various aspects of golf. Setting parameters of a geographical nature was essential for logistical reasons and the availability of data. Given the historical importance of golf in Edinburgh, East Lothian and the Fife area, it seemed reasonable to concentrate on golfers in the East of Scotland rather than encompass every geographical area. Two men and one woman had been interviewed previously in 1990 for another golf-related project and some of the data from this

research was an additional element for this thesis.[17] Between 1995 and 1999, seventeen females and one male were recorded individually, as well as sixteen girls, aged between 13 and 18, in two group interviews. Of the seventeen women recorded, six were under the age of 40, seven were aged between 40 and 70 and four were aged between 70 and 91. Additional information was obtained from men and from non-golfers of both sexes.[18]

It was important to seek out youngsters who were relatively inexperienced golfers, some of whom had only recently started playing, in order to discover how their experience of tuition could be compared to well established players of a similar age. One youngster, Vikki Laing, had already achieved considerable success at national and international level which provided a contrast to a golfer from another era, Jessie Valentine, who had similar achievements.[19] Of those in the middle age range, Ethel Jack, Gillian Kirkwood and Marigold Speir had experienced junior golf and had also represented their counties and country at senior level. Along with Anne Sime, each of them had at one time served on the executive committee of the SLGA and were well experienced administrators of women's golf in Scotland. Among the group of older women were those with a lifetime's experience in golf. Alice Clark, Marjorie Whitton and Jessie Valentine are still regular participants. Jessie is unique in being one of the first Scottish women (along with Jean Donald) to become a professional after retiring from competitive amateur golf.[20]

The recorded interviews were semi-structured with general questions asked to all interviewees regarding place and date of birth. Not all were willing to divulge this information. A questionnaire was not used but questions were tailored as far as possible to the individual so that they could offer their personal experience on a range of aspects concerned with golf. By gathering qualitative rather than quantitative data it proved possible to establish patterns or trends in for instance, a family interest in golf, or the reasons surrounding their membership of a golf club. Teenage girls from St Leonards, a private school in St Andrews, who had recently taken up golf, were interviewed in a group situation, while girls in Dunbar who attended the local grammar school were interviewed on a one-to-one basis. I considered it important to ask if the girls were encouraged into golf through a family connection, their local golf

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[17] William Skene of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, George McLeod of The Thistle Golf Club and Mae Charles of Edinburgh.
[18] See List of Informants.
[19] See Chapter Eight.
[20] See Chapters Six and Eight.

clubs or through school.[21] My reasons for this were to establish how golf was taught and if coaching schemes were important in encouraging girls to take up golf while at school. This resulted in information regarding differences in provision in both St Andrews and Dunbar.[22]

Non recorded informants

It is important to state that not all informants agreed or were able to be formally interviewed although their names are recorded officially as having shared experiences or given information.[23] While respecting their wishes, information was gathered and noted and some of it used but not in a way which could identify a particular source. In conversation with players while playing a round of golf, I was able to make enquiries about their experience within school and family networks, resulting in valuable material being obtained. Verbal information concerning girls playing golf at St Leonards School was forthcoming from June Caithness, head of Physical Education at the school and Elizabeth Bushnell, the custodian of the school museum, who were able to answer a range of queries on the present as well as past.[24] Eileen McLagan, William Craig and Anne Millar offered reminiscences as well as photographs of Margaret Carswell of Swanston Golf Club, but none of them wished to be recorded.[25] Naturally the Scottish experience could not be viewed in isolation, so comparisons with women golfers gathered through contacts in the USA as well as the English experience documented in written sources were gathered in addition.[26]

Evaluation of recorded material

Some of the interviews are reflective. Jessie Valentine and Helen Nimmo, in looking back over their golfing lives, were able to express in their own words what it felt like to play at the highest level of competitive amateur golf between the 1930s and the 1950s.[27] While there are written reports of championships and overseas tours, the individual can give a personal account of what circumstances were like and how

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[21] See Chapters Four and Eight.
[22] See Chapter Eight.
[23] See List of Informants.
[24] See Chapters Four and Eight.
[25] See Chapter Five.
[26] Information from Fran Beckett on women's golf in the USA and M Chambers (1995) and L.Kahn (1996) provide formal written accounts. R Cossey (1984) and L Mair (1992) provide information relating to English golfers. See Bibliography.
[27] Jessie Valentine, SA 1995.103&104; Helen Nimmo, SA1997.130.

they found the experience which is not part of the formal written record. Jessie Valentine is modest about her achievements at such a young age for one who had little experience outside her own country.

> " ... I wasn't bad ... I entered for the Scottish and the British and that was the beginning. But I won a British before I won the Scottish which was all wrong really.
> *That was unusual?*
> I know, but I do everything funny.
> *So when was that then, that you won the British?*
> H'm, 1935 was it? Then I was picked to go on the British tour to Australia and New Zealand" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995 103&104).

An undoubtedly talented young girl, Jessie, the daughter of a professional golfer from Perth, because of her modest upbringing and background had never envisaged that life would change from that time and she would be moving in a social circle unfamiliar to her.[28] The strength of personal testimony and personal observation such as this can provide a unique insight into aspects of golf where official records reveal little.

It is important also to consider the variety of individual experience and that one person's experience is as valid as those of others. Interaction with individuals can often unearth new documentary materials, such as personal diaries and photographs. As evidence of their participation in golf throughout Scotland, some golfers keep written records for their own personal satisfaction. Two of those interviewed, Helen Nimmo and Marjorie Whitton, were willing to show records as well as momentos of their achievements in golf. From these it can be seen that both women set themselves targets to aim for in lowering their handicap or in being selected for a club, county or national team. One senses their personal achievement in the way they proudly record their results. Between 1929 and 1939, Helen Nimmo who represented her county and country detailed her scores, the names of opponents and her progress made through each championship in a tabular form[29] while Marjorie Whitton, a member of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, recorded in her diary the steady reduction in her handicap from 36 to 22 and her success in club competitions between 1949 and 1951.[30] She also registered her pride in being voted onto the ladies' committee alongside her mother in 1962.

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[28] See Chapter Six and Chapter Eight.
[29] Private notebooks in the possession of Helen Nimmo, Edinburgh.
[30] Private record of Marjorie Whitton, Edinburgh.

Some interviews with women golfers result in strongly-held views being expressed as a result of their own experience. As de Hart (1993:595) surmises, " ... what we write is enhanced not just by the memories of these we interview - how they made sense of the events they recollected - but also by the passion and humanity they reveal as they share their experiences". For instance, Ethel Jack reveals a sense of frustration in the way some golf clubs operate and of the way women are treated within them.

> "I think it's pathetic that we can't all be members of a golf club. I find that it makes my blood boil actually, because as far as I'm concerned, Gullane is one of the worst clubs in Scotland. Although we have equal rights on the course, we don't pay the same subscription, therefore we are not included in anything within the golf club and that's why there is a thing called Gullane Ladies' Golf Club. We are a completely separate club.
> *So you don't have a voice on the committee?*
> No, not one. The ladies' captain and secretary meet occasionally with the Captain and secretary of Gullane Golf Club" (Ethel Jack SA1995.105).[31]

Other interviewees too provide evidence in a less impassioned way of social stratification within golf clubs. Marjorie Whitton reveals that her status as a young unmarried working woman in the 1950s presented problems to the controlling force within her club, the older married members who were not in paid employment.

> "You had to be a certain standard ... They were all morning players and of course I was working. I wasn't married at that time and they ruled the roost, very nice but you were only allowed to do certain things" (Marjorie Whitton SA 1996 53&54).[32]

Oral testimony can provide questions to pose to other sources on issues such as equality of access within golf clubs. While some women are prepared to accept conditions established by their forebears, others press for an equality of opportunity.

> " ... we don't have a lot of time on the course. We have medals on Tuesdays, the medal, the main competition all on a Tuesday, apart from our Spring and Autumn meetings which are on a Saturday, but that is only because of light because people can't play at night, so they give us this big concession ... I think it's a subject worth discussing if the men

[31] See Chapter Five.
[32] See Chapter Five.

> would treat it seriously, but they seem to think it's just a joke and until the male side of this world takes it seriously, then we are going to get nowhere" (Ethel Jack SA 1995 105).

While men enjoy tee-time privileges thanks to tradition at many private clubs, women are seen by men in terms of their social roles where golf is often considered as secondary for them, therefore a weekday is their designated medal day keeping the majority of weekends freely available for men's competitions.[33]

Archival sources with written and visual material

Important among the primary sources of archival material concerning women's golf are the Minute Books of the executive committees of the LGU and the SLGA and also those relating to individual clubs; newspaper records of individual golfers which report their involvement in competition locally and nationally; photographs both formal and informal of golfers in action and in official groups; official entry sheets for major events which record individual competitors and the clubs they represent; club histories as well as instructional books written by former players; and autobiographical accounts.

Collections of material in the official archives in St Andrews at the headquarters of the Ladies' Golf Union, the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association and the British Golf Museum reveal a wealth of information which poses problems for the researcher. In deciding what to consult one must take into account just what can be extracted from this source material. In the catalogued collection of the Ladies' Golf Union (LGU) it has been possible to study material relating to women's golf in England, Wales and Northern Ireland as well as Scotland. As the LGU is the governing body of ladies' golf, it has in its possession Minute Books, Handicapping and Championship Committee ledgers and Executive Council ledgers dating back to 1894.[34] Minute Books record accounts of meetings of the LGU executive but these minimal entries reveal only a record of decisions taken and not the process by which they were reached. The LGU is in possession of a complete record of an official publication variously titled as the *LGU Annual* (1893-99), the *LGU Official Yearbook* (1900-74) and the *Lady Golfer's Handbook* (1975-2000) which contains information regarding all the ladies' golf clubs in Britain.[35] Early records can prove most useful with regard

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[33] See Chapter Five.
[34] See Bibliography.
[35] The early *LGU Annuals* contain articles on golf written by former players as well as details of each affiliated club.

to information about the membership of ladies' clubs affiliated to the LGU prior to 1914, as they contain detailed lists of members and information regarding handicaps, cost of membership and clubhouse facilities. From the LGU archive it has been possible to establish a socio-economic profile of the membership of specific clubs in particular areas.[36] Detailed in the hand written entry sheets for each Ladies' British Open Amateur Championship from 1893 are the names and affiliations of all the competitors, giving an indication of where the participants were located geographically. This can give some indication as to the extent of interest by the competitors in participating in a national championship. Photographic albums record from 1895 onwards, the Ladies' British Open Amateur Championship, providing a visual record of competitors. From the photographs it has been possible to detect, especially in the 1890s, attire which was fashionable to the point of being uncomfortable for the wearer. As Enid Wilson (1961:11), an English golfer observed, "prevailing fashions seemed purposely designed to prevent women from indulging in any form of athleticism".[37] From these visual records, changes can be detected in the dynamics of the golf swing when golfers discarded their tailored jackets and took to wearing cardigans and jerseys which gave them more freedom to develop a much freer style.[38]

As well as formal portraits of competitors, the memorabilia contained in some of the personal collections presented by former prominent players to the LGU are in the form of scrapbooks and notebooks from the 1920s and 30s period, which provide evidence of a continuity of participation in golf competitions. These records give additional information of the extent to which women participated in minor and major events and can substantiate the more formal reports of events recorded in the columns of golfing journals and newspapers. Interestingly, the collection of Noel Dunlop-Hill, a member of both the LGU and SLGA executive, is in the possession of the LGU rather than the SLGA. Miss Dunlop-Hill's collection includes photographs, newspaper cuttings and programmes relating to golf in Scotland between the 1920s and the 1940s.[39] This provides not only an important personal social history of an individual player but also reveals an insight into the sense of companionship and friendly rivalry present in women's golf in this period.

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[36] See Chapter Five.
[37] See Chapter Seven.
[38] See Illustrations.
[39] Noel Dunlop-Hill was the author of the first book relating to the SLGA, published in 1929, *History of the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association 1903-1928*. London: Mortons.

At the headquarters of the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association (SLGA) at Drumoig near St Andrews, a small archive provides part of the official historical record for Scottish golf. This collection is uncatalogued and consists of Minute Books of committee meetings from 1904,[40] photographic albums of Scottish Champions from 1903 to 1930 and scrapbooks belonging to notable players from the past. The collection contains newspaper cuttings and photographs revealing evidence of the importance of golf in the lives of several prominent Scottish golfers from the early part of the 20th century. An example of this is the press cutting record of Alexa Glover,[41] the daughter of a wealthy Edinburgh business man. As winner of the first Scottish Championship in 1903 she received much publicity in the Scottish national press and her father proudly collected the press cuttings as a record of her competitive career from the 1900s. One can deduce from this that this young woman was not only a skilful golfer but had a lifestyle typical of an Edwardian socialite. Her frequent trips to the Continent to play with the rich and famous received regular coverage in French newspapers.

Additionally, the golfing memorabilia of Charlotte Beddows Watson (nee Stevenson) also reveal a lifestyle given over to golf. Born into an Edinburgh golfing family in 1887, she was one of the most remarkable of Scottish golfers with a competitive career spanning more than half a century from the beginning of the 1900s to the middle of the 1950s. Her achievements in golf resulted in regular features in newspapers and photographs in golfing journals from her first appearance in the Scottish Championship in 1905 at the age of eighteen, until her final appearance at the age of sixty-two in the final of 1950.[42] The longevity of her career identifies golf as a sport where youth is not viewed as the only essential component for success. As interviews with the older age group of women indicate, most of them continue to play competitively as well as for pleasure well beyond the age of maturity.

The material culture of women's golf

What can material artefacts reveal about women's golf? The trophies, medals, photographs and especially the clothing worn by women are a valuable source of information which can help to trace patterns of change in different historical periods.

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[40] More extensive references to committee meetings of the SLGA are made in Chapter 3.
[41] See Chapters Three and Seven.
[42] See Chapter Seven.

Part of the collection of material relating to women's golf is on display at the British Golf Museum in St Andrews including the black trousers, sweater and turban worn by Miss Gloria Minoprio in the English Championship in 1933, when she outraged the Ladies' Golf Union as the first woman to appear in trousers at a national competition.[43] The style and cut of this unorthodox outfit must have appeared out of keeping at a time when convention required that women golfers' wear a regulation tweed skirt, a modest blouse and a cardigan.

This collection illustrates much of the historical background associated with women's golf. Behind the acquisition of this material was the idea that one day there would be a Women Golfers' Museum dedicated to the history of women's involvement in golf. For many years the collection, which began in 1938, was housed in the Lady Golfers' Club in Whitehall Court, London and thereafter in various London clubs, before being given sponsorship after the war by Colgate-Palmolive who displayed it from 1977 to 1980 in their Oxford Street premises in London. It was then transferred on loan to the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh in July 1980. Much of the information regarding the collection came to light during an interview with Miss Helen Nimmo of Edinburgh, a former player, who had in her possession correspondence concerning the collection which provided a link from past to present.[44] It transpired that Mrs Sophie Gifford, a friend of Miss Nimmo, was responsible for organising the transfer of the collection to Edinburgh.[45] Together with sources such as local newspapers, society journals, club histories and other sporting literature, this type of evidence adds to the visual sources of photography and reflects change and continuity through which analysis as well as conclusions can be based.

The place of each chapter in the structure of the thesis as a whole

The thesis takes the form of eight chapters of which this introduction is the first. Within each chapter the themes already referred to above are addressed in detail. A brief outline of the contents are as follows.

Chapter Two sets the context for the early involvement of women in sport led by those from the upper levels of society and addresses itself to the types of sport played

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[43] See Chapter Seven and **Fig.30**.
[44] Correspondence relating to the museum is the possession of Helen Nimmo, Edinburgh.
[45] The correspondence relating to this between Sophie Gifford and Maureen Millar (the niece of Cecil Leitch who took over custody of the collection on her death in 1977) gives an insight into the problems associated with displaying this collection

and the nature of sports suited to women in terms of age range and class. We consider the medical argument made against women's participation as well as addressing the argument for women to play within gendered boundaries. In Chapter Three we examine the development and organised nature of women's golf from 1893 and the role played by pioneering women. Individuals with assertive natures are central to the way which golf developed, but we have to ask why it took women longer to formalise the game in Scotland. An assessment is made of the lead taken by English women in establishing a representative body, the Ladies' Golf Union and consideration is given to the purpose behind organising a Scottish Championship. The way that girls are introduced to golf through social networks is explored in Chapter Four. The role played by family members is examined through a representation of individual experience, and the sporting opportunities available in the educational system are traced through two schools in the East of Scotland. Chapter Five considers those involved in golf at grass roots level in golf clubs. The importance of the golf club as a 'middle-class enclave' is examined in St Andrews and suburban Edinburgh. The way women shaped their autonomy within them is addressed as are issues surrounding the positive and the negative aspects of club life. In Chapter Six the problems of terminology surrounding the amateur game along with the issue of class are explored. Consideration is given to accomplished amateurs from the 1930s and 40s who entered the post-war professional realm to challenge the traditional concept of the male golfer as the only recognised professional. In Chapter Seven we address the role of women golfers' as represented in terms of attire and style and consider the way they were perceived by others. The importance of femininity in appearance and demeanour is examined chronologically from visual and written sources. In Chapter Eight, we consider recent developments in the contemporary game with the introduction of coaching schemes and golf scholarships for the young in Scotland and in the USA. We also address the extent to which change and continuity has affected the operation of the governing bodies of women's golf in Scotland and focus on two important individuals whose lives revolve round a continuous participation in golf.

Chapter Two

Historical and Cultural Context of Women in Sport

From the middle ages to the end of the 19th century, women from different backgrounds were actively seeking to pursue an interest in sport as individuals, as well as in groups. While it is important to be aware of women's involvement in sport in earlier times, the written evidence pertaining to women's history in this area and of this time is in limited supply as little attention has been directed to its study. Class, age, marital status and gender relations as well as the physical nature of the sporting activity and the capabilities and limitations of the female body are important factors in the study of women in sports. Women in sport are often regarded as a "supposedly homogenous group" but if the above are taken into account then dominant and subordinate groups emerge "not only between men and women, but between different groups of women and different groups of men as well" (Hargreaves: 1994:10-11).

This chapter outlines the involvement of women in sport and the historical framework of their participation up to 1860. This is followed by an examination of the biological role of women in the early 19th century and a survey of some individual sports and pastimes in which women were involved from the 1850s to the end of the 19th century. Finally, the development of women's sport in the context of 20th century Scotland is discussed.

2.1 Women in sport from the 15th to the mid 19th century

Sport was not totally absent from the lives of medieval women. Because of the relative absence of written material, it has been assumed that women in the past had little or no interest in sport, but this reflects, as Guttmann (1991:46) argues, "the historiographical bias of a truly patriarchal age". Throughout the medieval and early modern period, privilege of rank, social status and affluence were the determining factors as to what one could do with one's time. Freedom to choose whether or not to participate in any form of leisure activity was the reserve of those in positions of power. Some sports were banned and neither women nor men had a choice in the matter. In Scotland a decree was issued by James II in March 1457 that "the futeball and golfe be utterly cryed downe and not to be used". This ban, reinforced in 1491 in

the third parliament of James IV, was in the interests of "the common good of the realme and defense thereof" (Quoted from Browning 1955:2). Circumstances were to change when a peace treaty was negotiated with England in February 1502 and following the marriage of James IV of Scotland with Margaret, daughter of the English king Henry VII in 1503, golf was resumed as a pastime. In a letter dated August 13 1513, Catherine of Aragon mentions to the future Cardinal Wolsey that, "all his [i.e. the king's] subjects be very glad, Master Almoner, I thank God, to be busy with the golf, for they take it for pastime" (Quoted from Browning 1955:2). This mention of golf as a pastime in England suggests that the vogue for the game was new but whether Catherine herself indulged in it is a matter of conjecture. There is no indication of what form golf was taking or how regularly the pastime was being pursued at this time.

It is known that female royalty indulged in sport from time to time and this included golf, hunting and archery. Mary, Queen of Scots was known to have an interest in golf and played a version of it while staying in St Andrews in 1563. She was no doubt familiar with games of some similarity such as pall-mall which was played in France.[1] Two days after the murder of her husband Darnley in 1567, she was rebuked for playing golf and pall-mall "in the fields beside Seton" (Browning 1955:120). As there were no designated golfing areas in the 16th century, this would most likely have taken place within the grounds of Seton Castle and not in public view. Amongst the upper levels of society it was not unknown for women to involve themselves in riding, shooting and hunting and it was often women who would act as patrons and benefactors to sportsmen. Field sports were the reserve of the aristocracy and were opportunities for the nobility to display their privilege and power as well as their pleasure in what they considered agreeable physical activities. Evidence of women's involvement in hunting and hawking is occasionally glimpsed in illuminated manuscripts or on stained glass. Being an accomplished horsewoman was an essential part of life for the nobility and hunting was a sport enjoyed by ladies of the court. Elizabeth I was known to be "exceedingly disposed to hunting", as was her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots, who hunted deer at Athole in 1564 (Guttmann 1991:60).[2] Mary was also a known enthusiast in archery and had butts erected in the gardens at Holyrood and St Andrews (Buchanan1979:5).[3]

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[1]Pall-mall or Pell-mell was a golf-like game played with a wooden mallet and wooden ball.
[2] Noted in a letter of Rowland White to Robert Sidney.
[3] Butts were normally mounds of earth covered with turf, standing about 100 to 140 yards apart. A paper disc was placed on the butt at which to aim. From the 18th century, the shooting distance was as short as 30 yards.

In France and the Low Countries, women from the merchant classes were sometimes auxiliary members of the archers' guild, but only rarely took part in unofficial matches. However, there were those who, perhaps because of age, physical disability or lack of inclination, would have been content enough to assume a role as observers and/or helpers. They were more likely to be found preparing food and attending the celebrations after the event. Wives of craftsmen or merchants who were knowledgeable about mercantile businesses acted as helpers rather than participants when their husbands took part in archery contests (Guttmann 1991:51).

Below the elite level, women's involvement was occasional and it took time for them to be widely recognised as legitimate participants in a number of sports. However as contemporary research indicates, it was only a small minority of women who were 'active' in any sport although it was known that they participated in a wide range of activities, the nature and extent of which were largely determined by place of residence and social class (Reekie 1982:33-152). Women from the lower end of the social scale were known to have participated in football, cricket, rowing and other such activities, "despite strenuous labour and restricted time" (McCrone 1988:6).

Cricket matches in rural areas played between village teams in the south of England would have been familiar to women so it is not surprising that they showed an interest in the game. In the 1740s, cricket was played in an organised format as a code of rules governing the game had been drawn up in 1744 (Wingfield 1988:85). The earliest women's match of which there are any records took place in the south of England on Gosden Common, near Guildford in Surrey on July 26 1745. Two teams of maids dressed in white from Bramley and Hambledon in Hampshire competed against each other and it was reported as "the greatest cricket-match that was ever played in the South part of England ... The girls bowled, batted, ran and caught as well as any men could do in that game" (Source: *Derby Mercury* August 16 1745). One can only speculate that the spectators were attracted and curious to see if women were knowledgeable and competent at the game. As with many of these matches, it was the custom to award prizes of a practical nature to the winners. At Upham in Hampshire in 1765, the prize for a match played between a married and unmarried side was "a large plum-cake, a barrel of ale and a regale of tea" (Guttmann 1991:78).

The seasons, as much as anything, dictated the measure of work for agricultural workers. Slack periods, restricted perhaps only to a few days during the year, were

often spent in some kind of amusement or sport. Village fairs associated with saints' days were opportunities for folk to gather, drink, eat and relax and enjoy the spectacle of wrestling contests or compete in running races. Races were not always the reserve of men and women were known to have taken part (Guttmann 1991:47). In Aberdeen in 1766, two races were purely for female entrants, with material prizes in the form of "a piece of check for a gown, some yards of linen and a silk napkin" being awarded to the winner, as well as a monetary prize of 10/- for the runner up (Burnett 1995:31). The significance of such prizes, presented by the Honourable Company for Water Drinkers of Peterhead, might have had some bearing on the number of women who competed. Smock races were widespread in England with races recorded all over the country.

Competitors in sport were generally defined by status, age and character (Brailsford 1996:150). Contrasts between different groups of women in social standing and their attitude to playing sport can be observed within visual images. One of the first female cricket matches between members of the aristocracy was played at the Oaks in Surrey in 1777 and featured the Countess of Derby and ladies of similar social standing. A watercolour of 1779 shows these ladies conventionally attired in ankle length skirts, high heeled shoes, tight bodices and picture hats. **Fig.1** Their dress suggests that the possibility of running or moving with ease was restricted, although one of the fielders, posing in a crouched position, looks to have been ready for action. Aristocratic ladies had no wish to draw attention to themselves publicly but they were however prepared to play a game like cricket in the confines of a private estate. The third Duke of Dorset, who was a spectator at this match, urged more females to take up the game claiming, "What is human life but a game of cricket and if so, why should not ladies play as well as we?" (McCrone 1988:142). The contrast between the sedate game played by the aristocracy and the more athletic game of rural women is depicted in caricature form by Thomas Rowlandson who presents a group of rural women playing a cricket match with abandon in 1811. Their skirts are bunched up and their legs bare. **Fig.2** As there are only a few visual examples of female labourers playing cricket or running races, it is not possible to affirm that any painting depicting them observes complete accuracy or whether a degree of artistic licence might have been used to satirise the actions of the women.

That women were participating in sport with other women of the same social standing is evident, but that they competed with or against men is less conclusive. Men and women did not necessarily play sport together and there is little evidence to

suggest that 'mixed' sport took place at this time. The game of hand ball common in the Border region of Scotland was a fairly rough encounter between men and not one in which women appeared to want to participate. But other divisions of status were clear in that it was occasionally recorded that a side of married women would take on a side of unmarried women in some sports. These contests emphasised the differences in marital status and were considered a traditional division (Hole 1949:52-3). In the East of Scotland, the fishwives of Musselburgh were actively involved in sport on their time off. Fishwives were physically strong because the nature of their work required them to carry heavy creels (baskets) of fish and it was not considered unnatural for physically strong women to participate amongst themselves in games more associated with men at this time, such as football and golf. The fishwives' exploits were recorded.

> " ... they do the work of men, their manners are masculine, and their strength and activity is equal to their work. Their amusements are of the masculine kind. On holidays they frequently play at *golf*; and on Shrove Tuesday there is a standing match at *football* between the married and the unmarried women, in which the former are always victors" (*Statistical Account of Scotland* 1791-1799 Vol. II:297).

These sporting encounters between women were a feature of New Year as well as Shrovetide celebrations. It appears that the male golfers of Musselburgh encouraged competitiveness and were prepared to donate prizes as in 1810, it was reported that a prize of a creel and "skull" (shallow fish basket), with a consolation prize of two of the best Barcelona silk handkerchiefs, would be awarded to the best female golfer who played on New Year's Day, 1811 (Minute of the Musselburgh Golf Club December 1810). Unfortunately the result of what appears to be the first official female golf competition is unrecorded.

Curling, a winter sport traditionally associated with Lowland Scotland, involved relatively few women in the early 19th century, but it appears that some men were predisposed to encouraging women to curl as early as 1821 where one of the rules of the Peebles Curling Club stated that "When ladies come near the rink and are disposed to play, the skips shall have the privilege of instructing them to handle the stones".[4] In the opinion of the Rev. John Kerr (1890:292-3), ladies were not disposed to the sport as "the majority find the curling stone too heavy for their delicate arms".

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[4]The 'rink' is the area of frozen water and the 'skips', the captains or leaders of the teams who direct play.

Curling required a fair degree of strength in handling irregularly shaped, weighty stones and delivering them over a frozen surface. However, informal and spontaneous matches took place in rural areas when 'rinks' of married and unmarried women competed against each other.[5] A report of a match at Sanquhar between two such rinks recorded that,

> "the sides were pretty numerous and composed exclusively of women, the wives against the lassies. After the match the curleresses retired to a tavern. How the husbands relished this unusual display of masculine powers and convivial dispositions on the part of their wives need not be enquired into" (*Dumfries Weekly Journal* January 7 1823).

This display of freedom and licence to act in an unimpeded way may not have been widely acceptable for women in early 19th century Scotland, but it did set a precedent for women in Sanquhar as another account of a women's match reported that "twenty-eight blooming damsels met on Dalpeddar loch in the parish of Sanquhar to play a friendly bonspeil" (*Dumfries Weekly Journal* January 9 1826). On this occasion the ladies invited the gentlemen who were present to adjourn with them and refresh themselves with a "het pint" and a "whisky toddy", [6] followed by dancing which lasted "into the wee short hours of the morning" (Smith 1981:159). These women were instrumental in pioneering some degree of post-match liberality and social emancipation. Despite asserting that curling was considered a democratic game played by 'everyone' in Lowland communities, D.B. Smith argues that women were not an important part of the equation in the 19th century.

> "Curling was no different ... in having no women participating than any other sporting activity, because let's face it, most women throughout history until the second half of the 20th century have spent most of their youthful lives and middle age in producing babies and looking after babies, so it's not surprising that curling was so different from anything else" (SA 1992.41).[7]

A few exceptions from the ranks of the middle and upper classes proved that they were able to wield a curling stone to good effect in the confines of private estates. Jemimah Wedderburn depicts women from the family of Sir George Clerk of

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[5] The 'rinks' are the teams who participated.

[6] Terms associated with curling in Scotland.

[7] D.B.Smith SA1992.41. This informant is not listed as the interview was recorded for another piece of research. For further references to curling, see J George (1993) *Curling - 'Scotland's Ain Game'*, unpublished M A Honours dissertation. School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Penicuik, Midlothian playing a mixed match in 1847. **Fig.3** This is the earliest recorded encounter of men and women in competition together. In the West of Scotland, the 13th Earl of Eglinton, a keen sportsman and one of the great patrons of sport in Victorian Scotland offered encouragement to his wife and other ladies in the household to curl.[8] The Countess of Eglinton, her daughter Lady Egidia Montgomerie and their friends regularly played matches on the artificial rinks within the policies of Eglinton Castle in Ayrshire as a water colour sketch of 1860 reveals. **Fig.4** Being concealed from the public gaze, they were able to hitch up their overskirts and play in relative freedom without any fear of untoward comment or criticism.

While women from the upper level of society might not have been participating outside the privacy of their gardens in any great number, Kerr (1890:294) notes that the male curling establishment respected their patronage in not only providing refreshments at matches but donating trophies, cups and medals as direct gifts to curling clubs. This type of patronage was seen as a "significant contribution" to the "development of organised sport in the second half of the 19th century" in Scotland (Tranter 1994:30). However, the extent to which middle-class women were part of this development in organised sport was limited to some degree by an attitude which became apparent in the early decades of the 19th century.

2.2 The nature of women and the medical debate in the 19th century

In the early 19th century, the physiology of women was regarded as an important factor in determining whether they should be allowed to participate in sports. The view which prevailed was "that sport was essentially masculine, requiring physical and psychological attitudes and behaviour unnatural to women" and was recognised and accepted as such (McCrone 1987:98). Middle-class women were often prevented from participating by the prevailing views of a time which considered that undue physical activity would do untold harm to the health of future generations if indulged in to any great extent. It was the female body and its capacity to endure physical exertion which was a cause for concern. Whether women could safely participate in sport was a much discussed question. Several women entered the debate in the 1840s.

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[8] The Eglinton family were also patrons of golf as in 1906 Beatrice, Countess of Eglinton presented a quaich to the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association. See Chapter Three.

A conservative arbiter of female behaviour, Sarah Stickney Ellis, recommended that they should spend more time in the fresh air either riding or walking, rather than languishing indoors.[9] Matilda Pullan, another advisor and counsellor of women, agreed with Ellis that fresh air was beneficial, but argued further that applying oneself vigorously to household tasks indoors in the form of "rubbing a table or sideboard, or sweeping a room", would work equally well (Pullan 1855:104).

Two of the main male protagonists in the 19th century debate were John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill. Ruskin's view was that the nature of women and their biology determined their innate qualities and he represented an idealised view of women as delicate creatures (Hargreaves 1994:46). Conversely Mill argued that women were products of their domestic and social circumstances and social environment, and they had been subjugated both politically and culturally into an acceptance of and belief in their own inferiority, both physical and mental (Hargreaves 1994:46). The debate focused on a biological view of the female body with women relegated to an inferior position because they were weak 'by nature' and their capacities limited compared with those of men. Increasingly arguments drawing on Charles Darwin's theories of evolution were used to defend the social order and hierarchy. Darwin's claim was that since women were less completely evolved than men, their minds could be improved through education but they could never be the equal of men, as "some of the traits which characterised them were typical of lower forms of life and states of civilisation" (Darwin 1874:575-6).

Women were thought of as passive, gentle, emotional and delicate creatures having "neither the strength nor the inclination to undertake strenuous exercise and competitive games" (McCrone 1988:6). Many middle-class women were slaves to the dictates of fashion, wearing restricting clothes and taking little in the way of exercise, so it was little wonder that they fainted or became ill, affirming the 'fragile' stereotypical image of the delicate woman. This concept of the 'nature of women' was sustained by many women including some in the medical profession themselves until the late 19th century. As Vertinsky (1990:5) observes, "most early women doctors accepted and promoted the very notions of Victorian delicacy and decorum which were so strongly endorsed by their male counterparts, and which contributed to keeping women enclosed in their separate sphere". The scientific and medical establishment, acknowledged as the authorities, were in a powerful position "to

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[9] Ellis wrote a series of manuals advising English women between 1839 and 1845; (1839) *The Women of England*; (1843) *The Mothers of England*; (1845) *The Daughters of England.*

dictate what were safe and legitimate uses for the female body" (McCrone 1988:193). However, as McCrone acknowledges, the opinions of female as well as male practitioners did not necessarily deter some women from seeing sport and exercise as an opportunity "to free themselves from some of the more entrenched and pervasive tenets of the Victorian ideology of femininity" (1988:2). If Victorian middle-class women indulged in sport they were considered to be entering a masculine world. Women could be considered legitimate participants in sport by men and accepted as such if they played to their own strengths and abilities and retained their 'womanliness'. An aggressive, reckless, muscular type of woman was not the feminine ideal; therefore the more attention sportswomen paid to the requisites of ideal womanhood, the more social acceptance they found. The stereotypical images of women as the 'weaker sex' and 'fair sex' accentuated their lack of ability and seriousness of purpose. If women participated then they had to do so within the bounds of the middle-class understanding of 'ladylike' behaviour. The activities that women undertook reflected a leisurely outlook with great emphasis on maintaining femininity in whatever was undertaken. The underlying notion was that sport, if played in moderation, could be beneficial to women as far as their health was concerned.

The selfless image of ideal womanhood was perpetuated in self-sacrifice and acceptance of the limits imposed on them by their gender, but the debate on the passivity of women and the Victorian ideal of femininity gave way to more enlightened ideas of encouraging women into leading a healthier lifestyle albeit with the proviso that "moderation in all things should be the motto of the Sportswoman" (Ballin 1900:15).

2.3 Individual pursuits and team sports from the mid to late 19th century

With the exception of lawn tennis, those women involved in individual sports such as croquet and archery was relatively small. Women's participation was condoned because it posed little threat to men, although there were always those individuals who were prepared to push at the boundaries and make a challenge in these sports.

Croquet

An individual game like croquet required little athletic ability and provided women in polite society with the opportunity for 'gentle' exercise outdoors. In the 1850s

croquet was regarded as an amusement rather than a sport, offering ladies a social pastime as well as the opportunity for encounters with members of the opposite sex for flirtation and romance. Croquet was considered by some to be of little benefit to health. Dorothea Beale, the principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, thought that it gave no "proper exercise" and placed "the body in a crooked posture" (Mangan & Park 1987:107). However, as rules developed and equipment was standardised it became a more skilled game requiring effective play. A few ladies treated it seriously enough to become members of the All England Croquet Club, founded in 1868. With a Ladies' Championship organised the following year, this gave an opportunity for those who wished, the scope for national competition.

In Scotland croquet was not as popular as in England, although it was known to have been played at Eglinton Castle prior to the 1870s (Pritchard 1981:36). David Johnstone Macfie of Borthwick Hall in Midlothian, who claimed to have introduced croquet into Scotland in the late 1860s, became one of the first members of the All England Croquet Club as there were so few players in Scotland at this time. However Scotland led the way in establishing a national championship open to *both* men and women in 1870. The Scottish Championship played at Moffat in Dumfriesshire and latterly at the Craiglockhart Hydropathic in Edinburgh, attracted interest from over the border. Macfie won this five years in succession from 1870, but the title was claimed from him on two occasions by a woman in 1876 and 1877. In England, it was not until 1897 that women began to play in national competition with men on equal terms. The notion that women were not serious in purpose when it came to competition is disputed by the entrance of Miss Lily Gower, who in 1901 became the first woman to prove herself superior to a man in winning the Open Gold Medal for croquet. Between 1899 and 1907, she was at her peak, winning five times in eight years, and was considered something of a threat to the men (Pritchard 1981:69-70).

Archery

From the mid 19th century onwards, archery was considered an elegant sport for ladies as it required poise and grace. It was deemed to be 'suitable' as it showed off the figure and only required a moderate amount of strength. The bows which were used by women had stringing which was reduced to suit their strength and the targets were placed at shorter distances than those used by male archers. Consequently, women were never seen as a threat to men in this sport. The Edinburgh Ladies'

Archery Club, founded in 1867 by Mrs Lees, the daughter of the secretary of the Royal Company of Archers, permitted only the wives and daughters of the Royal Company to become members of this exclusive club. Interestingly, this club was founded the same year as the first ladies' golf club in St Andrews.[10] As with the golf club, lady archers were given the gentlemen's patronage and twice yearly, competed with them inside at the butts at the invitation of the gentlemen and outdoors at the invitation of the ladies. These meetings inspired an Edinburgh poet to pen these lines.

> "Fair women in fact since the days of Diana
> Have always been good at this Archery Game
> And though they've abandoned this picturesque manner
> The girls of today have a similar Aim" (Anonymous, quoted from Smith 1989:3).

Ladies were given the opportunity of competing against each other at archery meetings organised by the Scottish National Archery Association throughout Scotland and at a National Championship from 1880. However, archery began to lose its appeal as lawn tennis and golf became more fashionable sports for women in the 1890s.

Lawn tennis

One of the games in which women, both married and single, participated in relatively large numbers was lawn tennis. In the 1870s, it was the prerogative of the leisured classes who played on the lawns of country houses and suburban villas. The game offered slightly more active exercise to women than did croquet. Much of the popularity of tennis was due to the fact that men and women could participate together in the same game. This social intercourse allowed courtships to be conducted on the tennis court in mixed doubles competitions and it was regarded as a social asset for a woman if she could play tennis. The mixed game to begin with tended to emphasise the strength of the male, with the female playing a subordinate role. Ever mindful of the constraints of dress as well as not wishing to over-exert themselves, women reached out for, rather than ran after the direction of the ball. They were not viewed as a threat to the skill of men. Some women took the game more seriously and progressed from the 'pat ball' game to a more skilful level. Dorothea Lambert Chambers, an early tennis champion and all-rounder, considered that tennis was one of the few athletic pursuits at which women could excel if they

[10] See Chapter Five.

practised against men. Lottie Dod, winner of the All England Championships in 1887 and 1888, was of the opinion that women were physically the weaker sex and would always have to practise the game if they wanted to be successful (Pearson 1988:34). Because she had played mostly with men from the age of nine, she had learned to play a 'strong' game and when she abandoned tennis in favour of golf, she became as adept at golf as at tennis.[11] These champion tennis players were invaluable examples to other sportswomen and they also stimulated interest in the ladies' game.

As tennis evolved there were opportunities for middle-class women to join tennis clubs in most towns and villages, and private clubs offered a place in which to socialise, while for those who wanted to take the game more seriously, tournaments and competitions were organised at club, local and national level. As an indication of its peak of popularity in the Stirling region in the 1880s, Tranter (1989:38) indicates that there was one tennis club for every 431 upper and middle-class females aged between 15 and 44.

Cricket

As far as team games were concerned, ladies' cricket, relatively popular in the late 18th and early 19th century had all but disappeared until a revival of participation in the 1870s attracted this pointed comment from *Punch*.

> "IRRESPRESSIBLE [sic] Woman is again in the field. 'Ladies' Cricket is advertised, to be followed, there is every reason to apprehend by Ladies' Fives, Ladies' Football, Ladies' Golf, etc. it is all over with men. They had better make up their minds to rest contented with croquet, and afternoon tea, and sewing machines, and perhaps an occasional game at drawing-room billiards"(*Punch* 10 May 1873).

Women's efforts to be treated seriously were belittled by those who considered they were "trespassing on sanctified territory" (McCrone 1988.143). Cricket more than most other sports was considered to be essentially a "gentleman's" game associated with manly virtues and a code of honour and as such it was feared that if women were allowed to play seriously it might endanger, "men's natural right" to a monopoly of "athletic power and privilege" (McCrone 1988:148).

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[11] See Chapter Three.

While ladies from titled families in Yorkshire were instrumental in forming the first female cricket club in England in 1887, the White Heather Club, very little serious cricket was played by women in Scotland in the late 19th century. One reference to the participation of women in the Stirling region was described in the *Bridge of Allan Reporter* as 'novel', when a ladies' team in Dunblane "captained by a Miss Blair, played a gentleman's team whose members batted left-handed" in 1890. (Quoted from Tranter 1994:34-5). [12]

Notwithstanding the scepticism of some that ladies' cricket was a pastime played for amusement, two teams of lady professionals (the first in any sport) were formed in 1890 by the English Cricket and Athletic Association. The 'Original English Lady Cricketers', as they were known, were mainly young women from lower middle-class backgrounds. In spite of being competent players and of a reasonable standard, the issue of class was raised as these players were not well regarded by the "respectable lady amateurs", some of whom regarded them as social inferiors (McCrone 1988.146). The professionals received coaching from male professionals, bowled overarm, played exhibition matches and attracted large crowds when they toured around the country. Being involved at an amateur level was acceptable, however limited, but to be seen to be playing for profit was definitely 'not cricket'. However this venture turned out to be short-lived as the teams were forced to disband at the end of the first season when the managers absconded with the profits (McCrone 1988:146). The English attitude was that "cricket was the ultimate national game" and any effort on the part of women to threaten this was belittled (McCrone 1988:148). Writing about cricket as a sport for girls, Agnes Hood made the following observation.

> "So long as she is content to play with her own sex, or with the feebler specimens of mankind, she will get as much enjoyment out of cricket and as great benefit from it, as do her brothers" (Spicer 1900:120)

The emphasis on maintaining femininity and remaining separate from the men's game reinforced the nature of the women's cricket at this time which was based on "women's physical and emotional inferiority" (McCrone 1988:277).

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[12] *Bridge of Allan Reporter* March 8 1890.

Cycling

With a choice of sports and outdoor activities in the 19th century providing increased opportunities for women to participate, as long as they did not over-tax themselves, some would argue that it was not sport (in the competitive sense) that gave women the means for emancipation, but the bicycle. It was claimed that the bicycle did more to revolutionise leisure and opportunity for women than almost anything else in the 19th century. It gave women from all social backgrounds a 'degree' of freedom. It enabled many of them to escape physically from the bounds of home and was viewed by Louise Jeye, writing in the *Lady Cyclist* in 1895, as a vehicle of liberation.

> "A new dawn, a dawn of emancipation, and it is brought about by the cycle. Free to wheel, to spin out into the glorious country, unhampered by chaperon or even more dispiriting male admirer, the young girl of today can feel the real independence of herself, and while she is building up her better constitution, she is developing her better mind" (Quoted from Vertinksy 1990:77).

However, cycling gave rise to arguments waged in support of and in opposition to its value. Doctors like W H Fenton, a Harley Street physician, advocated cycling as healthy and "an ideal exercise" if women and girls avoided excess and cycled purely for pleasure. Cycling was said to be a cure for "nervous and imaginary ailments due to the inactivity of the mind and body". Those who were "unaccustomed to exertion could condition themselves gradually ... and their muscles, hearts and lungs would be strengthened to the benefit of themselves" (Quoted from *Nineteenth Century* 1896:798). Other doctors gave warnings about "the supposed damage to female reproductive health" and the "incalculable harm" girls might do if they cycled too far or too fast.[13] The Lady Cyclists' Association formed in 1895 "to organise the control of cycling for women and the development of the cause", gave women opportunities to cycle together and become accomplished riders (*Lady Cyclist* 1895:44).

The bicycle became acceptable as a "utilitarian form of personal transport for women of all classes" by 1900, as prices dropped dramatically and systems of hire increased access (McCrone 1988:178). While many feared that this new-found physical freedom in movement might give women too much independence, the bicycle offered women a choice of liberty or confinement, providing a focus for them

[13] 'A report on cycling in health and disease', *British Medical Journal* (I) (May 9 1896:1399).

to assert their rights as independent free spirits if they so wished. New types of dress designed for the bicycle in the form of divided skirts, knickerbockers and bloomers allowed women more freedom. Cycling became a fashionable and essential social accomplishment, even although it was not universally pleasing to all women.

Throughout the 19th century, access to sport provided middle-class women with an area outside the home where the notion of sport and "a husband's or father's relative prosperity could be demonstrated vicariously" (Lowerson 1993:15). The latter half of the 19th century gave women greater opportunities to participate if they so wished on a competitive as well as a social level in a variety of sports. The first female curling club, Hercules Ladies' Club of Elie, was formed in 1895, when women by this time were performing publicly as competitors rather than spectators as shown by their inclusion at the Grand Match at Carsebreck in 1899.[14] In other sports such as croquet, archery and lawn tennis female participation increased and the bicycle symbolised for some women a vehicle for social change in physical freedom.

2.4 Women in sport in 20th century Scotland

If the history and nature of sport in Scotland is a constitutive part of its cultural identity as Jarvie and Burnett (2000:6) maintain, then to some degree the involvement of women in sport in Scotland in the 20th century has been shaped and constrained by gender relations and the class structure. Although a minority activity, sport has always figured in the social life of Scotland to the extent that it has been "talked about, read about, listened to and casually played to a degree" thus adding to its important social role (Jarvie & Burnett 2000:6). For most married women life centred round child bearing, the home and family with little time for leisure pursuits. Middle-class women were the managers of labour and resources within their own homes (Smout 1992: 278). While this managerial role gave them the responsibility for the supervision of domestic staff as well as their offspring, a minority of women within poorer families had to combine this role with paid work which supplemented the family wage.

In Scotland as McIvor (1992:145) contends, the First World War "considered to be a major watershed in the position of women within British society" had only " a marginal transitory impact" on Scottish women. While some sections of society had

[14] Scottish women have continued to gain recognition in this sport as Gold medalists in the World Championships and Olympic Games in 2002.

gained a degree of political freedom in 1918[15] and new opportunities in law and the professions were available to middle-class women, the post-war employment situation for working-class women was different. Women were withdrawn from specific areas of the labour market and restored to the "time-honoured sexual divisions of labour" so in practice returned to their pre-1914 position. It was only in clerical work and the distributive trades that working-class women were able to maintain their position. As McIvor (1996:195) maintains, "female subordination and economic dependence within the home, ... a sexual division of labour ... and the survival of chauvinist attitudes and patriarchal values continued to characterise the Scottish family".

Although changing social conditions in the 1920s meant a reduction in the number of children per family, this did not necessarily give women more leisure time, neither did it reflect an increase in the numbers of married women in the labour market – in 1921 only 6.3% of employed women were married (McIvor 1992:142). While the two World Wars did give women who entered the labour market the opportunity of 'male' employment, Dickson and Treble (1992:5) argue that the prospect of women remaining within the sectors of work traditionally associated with men conflicted with the status quo. Patriarchal values and sexual discrimination were "deeply ingrained within Scottish society ... despite legislative change designed to remove gender inequalities" (1992:169). This, according to McIvor (1992:169), left women "critically disadvantaged in the labour market". Between the wars female employment was terminated on marriage with the marriage bar remaining in place in teaching and many other occupations with the preference being to employ young unmarried workers (1992:150). According to Parratt (Quoted in Hill 2002:9), women continued to be constrained by social class and gender and "the gains made in leisure as a consequence of improving material standards – rising real wages, shorter working hours and improved health – were gains that chiefly accrued to men".

From the 1950s a general rise in the standard of living reflected the "transformation of the social and cultural life of most Scots" with the acquisition of consumer goods such as domestic appliances and telephones as well as private cars (Dickson & Treble 1992:7). By the second half the 20th century and with the decline of domestic service, a woman in the home became " a general labourer working on her own" even with labour saving devices such as washing machines and vacuum cleaners. The most important of these social changes however in the post-war period was the

[15] Women over thirty gained the vote in 1918 but not equal franchise with men until 1928.

increase in the percentage of married women in paid employment. With this came a greater awareness of sexual discrimination and movement for legislation for equal opportunities. Historically the feminist movement of the 19th century had campaigned for change and for legislative action in order to achieve change in the position of women. Although the Women's Liberation movement was criticised for attacking male norms, structures and authority, in the 1960s and 1970s it offered women a forum for personal freedom and self-expression (Lewis 1992:61).

As far as equality of opportunity for women to participate in sport was concerned, Hargreaves (1994:144) concludes that the period between 1919 and 1939 showed an "uneven and complex" development in the participation of women in sport. Throughout the inter-war period some sports remained specific to middle and upper class women such as golf and tennis and these were shown to be resistant to accept change. It could be argued that women like men were hostile in their attitude and not easily persuaded in opening these sports to their working class counterparts. Working class women frequently had to contend with opposition in their efforts to participate.[16] As Hargreaves points out (1994:120), "class-related participation in adulthood was the result, to a large extent, of experiences at school". Educational establishments in Scotland before 1900 provided a somewhat piecemeal opportunity for girls to try out sport as part of the curriculum. While the state acknowledged that physical education had a therapeutic value for the physical well-being of pupils, games were disciplined by a curriculum which varied according to what schools could offer in the way of instruction. A wider range of sport provided a choice for aspiring sportswomen who were pupils at independent schools. They were able to participate in cricket, hockey, tennis and lacrosse, while those in the state sector were limited by facilities unevenly distributed.[17] Netball, rounders and swimming provided a limited choice for working-class girls. Class differences characteristically important in the first half of the 20th century were less defined in the second half of the century although income and social status still dictated to some extent the leisure opportunities available to all sections of society.

The post Second World War period as Polley (1998:92) indicates, showed that "the economic and social impact of the war had caused some re-evaluation of women's role, and increasing opportunities for sport and leisure gradually became part of the wider debate on gender relations". Although women's sporting roles were less

[16] See Chapter Five regarding problems of access in golf clubs.
[17] See Chapter Four.

constrained than they had been in the 19th century, access to sport remained relatively limited and continued to be bound by "physical education ideologies that separated the sexes". We can see this illustrated in swimming, athletics and tennis as well as in other forms of sport prevalent in the latter part of the 20th century.

Swimming

Although in sport as whole women had been, according to Holt (1989:347), "mostly conspicuous by their absence", swimming next to walking became " the single most popular recreation" for women. In the 19th century, swimming in the sea and rivers during the summer months was a simple recreational activity as it required no specialist equipment and was free from financial restraint. Learning to swim from a young age was something to be encouraged and considered a healthy and invigorating physical recreation. From the early 20th century, the popularity of seaside resorts in the Firth of Clyde such as Largs, Brodick and Rothesay owed much to day trippers as well as long stay summer visitors who returned to these beaches for their annual 'doon-the-watter' holiday. East coast resorts such as Dunbar and North Berwick while having stretches of sandy beaches readily upgraded outdoor swimming pools to provide residents and visitors with an important facility for safe swimming. While swimming was dominated by men who had in general more leisure time than women, "a structured competitive sport emerged which went on outside working hours, at regular times in specially provided places according to a universal set of rules" (Billsborough 1988:18). Private and public baths provided a more attractive alternative to outdoor pools. As Bilsborough suggests (1988:3), it was with the provision of indoor pools and the "national concern for improvements in public health and a middle-class desire for exclusive and well provisioned sporting and social facilities" that Scotland was provided with many private as well as public indoor swimming pools. Private baths clubs ensured that members were provided with recreational and social spaces as well as swimming instruction and some clubs had ladies' sections.

The provision of municipal swimming pools with relatively low entrance fees meant that swimming became more accessible to women and girls of all social classes. There were opportunities to train and compete at local and national level. Girls were encouraged to take part in competitive swimming although swimming as a recreation was more the norm. Organisations with moral codes such as the YMCA and the YWCA, were able to offer sporting opportunities to the young through local churches

and other Christian associations. Importantly the link between sport and recreation and the well-being of the general public established by 1914 gave local authorities the responsibility of maintaining and servicing facilities such as swimming baths, public parks and playing fields (Mason 1989:2).

After the First World War women began to expect and demand greater equality. But it was not until the inter-war period that we can point to the west of Scotland in particular Motherwell where the lead was taken in this respect. David Crabb, a swimming coach, was appointed as superintendent of Motherwell Corporation Baths in the 1930s. Crabb campaigned successfully for access to swimming and other water sports for working people especially during wartime when many of these public amenities were closed down. In this industrial town his encouragement of the working-class, especially women, reflected his left-wing philosophy expressed through an attitude to self-discipline, fitness and hard work. His disciplined approach to swimming and training pupils to achieve success was manifested in their many sporting achievements (Jarvie & Walker 1994: 143-4). One of his protegees, Nancy Riach, provided an example of a national as well as a local hero in wartime. Her achievements were immense and her qualities of tenacity, displaying a fighting spirit and instinct of fair play brought her admiration outside Scotland as well as within the country. Sadly her sporting achievements were cut short when she contracted polio and died while representing Britain in the 1947 European Championships but her legacy was to inspire others. Swimming, as Billsborough (1988:56) makes clear, was "an easy medium for communication and social contact between people" and offered opportunities to compete in local as well as nationally graded competitions while maintaining a sense of "friendly rivalry".

Athletics

It was not until after the First World War that women participated publicly in athletics. This had much to do with the "femininity" argument as the muscularity involved in the running, jumping and throwing events was not deemed aesthetically pleasing. The power, speed and strength required was also "vulnerable to reactionary medical arguments" (Hargreaves 1994:131). Athletics took longer to be accepted amongst the middle-class in independent schools, colleges and universities. There was not only the public nature of athletics to consider but the wearing of clothing which exposed areas of bare flesh, and the fear that athletics might harm the prospects of motherhood. Women were made aware of the long-term effects of over-

vigorous exercise thus reinforcing the 19th century argument amongst the middle and upper-class for caution and moderation.

Female athletes were not included in the Olympic Games before 1914. The Olympic ideal although glorifying the status of the amateur athlete had restricted women's participation to skating and equestrian events prior to 1914 (Holt 1989:185). It was in the 1920s that women eventually did participate on the track in the Olympic Games. In 1921 there were ten track and field events for women although by 1948 this had been reduced to eight. As Hargreaves argues (1994:134), "the new athletic image of womanhood both embodied power *and* was vulnerable". As Blue (1987:73) points out, "women's athletics lost ground when it entered the male-run Olympics". Under the control of men athletics affirmed a masculine dominance and superiority. This may also be true of the development generally of women's sports. However in spite of this, interest in athletics increased due to formation of the Women's Amateur Athletic Association (WAAA) in 1922. The inter-war years, a time of economic hardship for many, offered opportunities for participation in athletics for working-class women and girls. Interestingly the first women's marathon run in London in 1926 and won by Violet Percy in 3 hours 40 minutes was not bettered for thirty-seven years. The nature of this event was considered "dangerous for the weaker sex" (Blue 1987:61).

While athletics provided women with the opportunity to compete at national level in competitions organised by the WAAA, it also gave opportunities to mix with the opposite sex at local level in clubs. Two of the most successful athletic clubs in Scotland, Edinburgh Southern Harriers and Glasgow Shettleston Harriers, were located in heavily populated urban areas. These clubs gave many women in the post Second World War period, the opportunity to train with other athletes and the chance to participate in inter-club as well as national competitions. The desire for competition was important but the fun and social side of the experience was equally significant. This was one of the attractions when travelling to events. Although classed as a minority sport, it had attractions for women who were less well off as most races offered prizes in the form of material goods and this was an incentive in times of economic hardship for those on low incomes especially for those who were about to set up home (Duvall: 2001:25).

Tennis

While swimming and athletics were acknowledged as having a relatively welcoming attitude to working class women, middle-class women continued to veer towards sports which emphasised aesthetics and grace and were considered more "appropriately feminine" such as tennis and golf. The tennis club as Hill (2002:144) indicates, became "a central feature of middle-class communities" in the inter-war years. Tennis was "an essential component of the social life of the provincial suburb ... as chaperoning began to recede" (Mason 1989:250). In truth tennis clubs fulfilled an important function as a "marriage market" as it was here that matches of the social as well as the sporting kind could be consummated. Mixed doubles of no more than three sets in length were ideally suited to those who wanted the opportunity for time with the opposite sex as well as a game of a more social nature. One of the most popular suburban tennis clubs, the Braid Tennis Club in Edinburgh experienced a surge in interest towards the end of 1919 with membership increasing to sixty-four females (Borthwick 1990:20). Members were drawn from the locality, the Braids area being a wealthy suburb with large houses thus ensuring a high proportion of professional people. Opportunities for introductions to the opposite sex in a social as well as a sporting context were well matched. Despite the female predominance at this club, the running of the Braid club remained in the hands of the men. According to Holt and Mason (2000:8) "tennis clubs more than doubled in the post-war decade, falling back from a peak of 4600 clubs in 1958 but still remaining popular".[18] In contrast to the private clubs, working class participation was dependent on the public provision of facilities and a lack of land prevented local authorities from investing in more than a few courts in cities and towns for public use before the Second World War (Borthwick 1990:6).

Keeping Fit

Another important area of women's participation in the inter-war period was the keep fit movement which attracted women of all classes. Keep fit had links with the 19th century model of gymnastics and exercise with an emphasis on "rhythmic movement to train and develop flexibility, suppleness and agility" (Polley 1998:94). Women's gymnastics had been introduced to the Olympic Games in 1928 and four disciplines – the vault, asymmetric bars, beam and floor work were designed to encourage femininity rather than exercises of strength. In an effort to encourage

[18] See Chapter Five for a discussion of golf in suburban Edinburgh.

women into this type of exercise, 'The Women's League of Health and Beauty' was formed in 1930.

The feminist movement in the 1960s was responsible for raising awareness concerning the position of women on inequalities in education and work but, as Hargreaves points out (1994:237), "failed to look at sports seriously". The separate spheres ideology defined in the coverage given to sportswomen in newspapers continued to refer to their sporting achievements alongside their traditional roles as wives and mothers. As Polley argues (1998:92), despite the emergence of feminism, developments in birth control and the consolidation of women in the workplace, "the popular notion of female-appropriate sports, those that emphasise grace, agility, flexibility and aesthetic performance, was still as strong as ever ... and the popular cultural portrayals of sportswomen still rely heavily on uncritical traditional perceptions of femininity".

Traditional perceptions of femininity continued to dominate the popular cultural portrayals of sportswomen at the end of the 20th century. While stressing the rights of women to enjoy their femininity, women's magazines promoted the iconic images of Madonna and Princess Diana whose celebrity lifestyles influenced women to emulate the "look good, feel good" image. Along with jogging, aerobic exercise was considered important in improving the quality of one's lifestyle. Rather than involving the competitive element this form of exercise was seen as a pleasurable informal physical activity which combined effort and skill and was "promoted as an antidote to obesity and depression" (Holt & Mason 2000:11). Exercise of this kind fashionable in the 1970s when there was a major investment in multi-purpose sports centres, continued into the 1980s when women who joined health clubs made the link with 'working out', sport and dancing.

However, facilitated by the growth of the equal opportunities culture, this did not stop women from venturing into sports traditionally defined as "male", such as football, rugby and cricket. Sport, as Whitson (1986:106) claims, "remains one of the institutions most resistant to change, most characterised by reaction". One also has to be aware that for many women participation in sport as Holt (1989:346) emphasises is "intensely sociable and largely organised around the institution of the individual club".[19] Sociability and sharing experiences are key factors for women in the participation of sport in Scotland in the 20th century and "life and family cycles are

[19] This is further explored in the golf club setting in Chapter Five.

important influences on who plays and who watches sport" as Mason indicates (1989:4).[20]

This is the historical and cultural context of women in sport over two centuries in which golf emerges as popular sport for women. In the following chapter the discussion centres on the formal organisation of golf beginning in the 19th century in England and later in Scotland.

[20] See Chapter Four for discussion on the importance of family influence.

Chapter Three

The Organisation of Women's Golf 1893 - 1930

This chapter focuses on the early period in the creation and structure of an overall governing body for ladies' golf, the Ladies' Golf Union, which developed the women's game, and on the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association, which was formed to represent the interests of Scottish players. It must be taken into account as well that while formal organisation of women's golf was motivated by an intention to develop the game for the good of all women, men had a role to play as well. Although golf had been played in one form or another for centuries by men from all ranks of society, women were not part of the creation of the early golfing societies and clubs which the gentlemen formed in the 18th century and early 19th century. In Scotland the first ladies' course and club was established in St Andrews with assistance from the gentlemen of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club in 1867.[1] The following year the members of the North Devon Club in England followed suit and established a club for the ladies. The formation of these clubs for women set a pattern which determined the separate nature of the development of the game at the organisational level in the 20th century.

3.1 From social to organised golf

The social side of golf had first drawn women to the game. From the early 19th century onwards, the golf links, especially around the east of Scotland where the earliest men's clubs had formed, were fashionable places to be seen and attracted women. Significantly, George Fullerton Carnegie, a poet from East Lothian, observed their presence in one of his poetical portraits of golf 'Man's Chief End' included in John Kerr's account of golf in the area (Kerr 1896:482).

> "The staid and stately dames gowff,
> The smirkin', friskin' misses gowff,
> Wi' spoon and cleek
> The links they seek,
> An' matches make at gowff.
> O, a' the bonnie lassies gowff,

[1] See Chapter Five.

Wi' Cupid's shafts the lassies gowff,
An' for their lads they lea' their dads,
The lasses' game is gowff"

While Carnegie hinted that golf seemed to have some appeal for young women in search of a husband, women of all ages appeared to be participating at a level which involved using clubs other than a putter. However, not all men welcomed them as did Carnegie. Their presence was considered an intrusion by Lord Wellwood, formerly Henry James Moncrieff, a Scottish High Court judge and a member of North Berwick Golf Club, who voiced his objections to women golfers in 1890 and enquired if it was right to allow them to play the "long round" with or without male companions. He questioned their motives for play on men's courses. "If they choose to play at times when the male golfers are feeding or resting, no one can object. But at other times - must we say it? - they are in the way; just because gallantry forbids to treat them exactly as men" (Quoted from Hutchison 1890:48). He considered that women golfers should be relegated instead to a links of their own, " ... a kind of Jew's quarter ... laid out on the model, though on a smaller scale of the "long round"; containing some short putting holes, some longer holes, admitting of a drive or two of seventy or eighty yards, and a few suitable hazards" (Quoted from Hutchison 1890:47). His attitude was that if women wanted to play it should be on terms dictated by men and on a separate course. Therefore in North Berwick it was considered advisable for the ladies to be "provided with a green of their own" so that "the flutter of petticoats" did not add to the distraction of the male players (Kerr 1896:133-4). Opportunities for golf presented themselves for women who demonstrated an eagerness and interest in playing. Kerr, the minister of Dirleton, observed that some women appeared to be serious and even rather competent at golf, "playing the gentleman's round...in a style which some gentlemen themselves might well have tried to emulate"(Kerr 1896:133). He recognised also that women enjoyed socialising in the clubhouse after their round and noted that amongst the ladies of Haddington, "members vie with each other in the excellence of the tea-cakes, which are provided by them in turn" (Kerr1896:294). Golf, as a popular magazine suggested in 1899, was an "excellent means of combining fresh air, exercise and society" (*The Ladies' Field* February 25 1899:493) But for women's golf to develop these isolated groups of golfers must band together and establish some kind of body which would be a united democratic organisation to represent the rights of all women golfers.

3.2 Motivation from England

While Scottish women seemed contented enough not to take the lead in such a venture, English women, especially in the south, were not averse to set about remedying the situation. Some already travelled regularly by rail between clubs and played in open meetings and inter club competitions (Crane 1991:18). While they were able to compete in an informal way, there was no control over standards of play, no uniform handicapping system or any national championship where proficiency could be judged and success rewarded.

In the English club, Wimbledon, several individuals led by Miss Issette Pearson, **Fig.5** felt that a national organisation was required to bring some regulation and organisation to the game nationally for the benefit of all women. The motivation to develop women's golf along separate lines and create a formal national body would, they considered, help to raise standards of play and proficiency. A governing body could offer advice to women golfers, suggest solutions to problems within clubs and deal with the anomalies of handicaps. It was the belief that a national body would give women's golf more focus and would also be a forum for debate. Women would be kept informed about who was playing the game, where it was being played and what opportunities were available for them to compete on an national basis. This was the background to the creation of the Ladies' Golf Union and the expectations of those women who wanted a formal organisation for golf in Britain.

3.3 The Birth of the Ladies' Golf Union - 1893

The formation of a representative body which would look after the needs of women golfers (separate from those of men) and act as a recognised authority in regulating women's golf came to fruition in 1893 at a time when there were more than fifty ladies' golf clubs in Britain. Approximately one third of these clubs had been established in Scotland.[2] A national union would have the responsibility for administering the game. Under the leadership of Miss Pearson (later Mrs T.H.Miller), the governing body took shape. Miss Pearson (b.1862), from a publishing background, had grown up in London and was one of the few female members of Wimbledon. This club, originally run as a military golf club by the London Scottish

[2] See Appendix II and Chapter Five. Twenty-three Scottish clubs listed prior to 1893.

Rifle Volunteers, admitted civilians in 1871 and the following year established a branch of the men's club for ladies. Known as the Ladies' London Scottish Golf Club, they had a separate nine hole course but with only 14 members, the ladies' club had difficulty in attracting support and were forced to disband in 1875 (*Fairway and Hazard* March 1965:26). Issette became the leader of a group of ladies who re-formed Wimbledon Ladies' in the late 1880s. She set about organising matches against other ladies' clubs in the south east area. But her primary interest was in establishing a national structure to further women's golf and engage interest in national competition. If women's golf was to progress then it required a formal organisation to support it.

3.3.1 Seeking support

Miss Pearson decided to circulate all the known ladies' golf clubs in Britain and call all those who might be interested to a preliminary meeting in London at the Grand Hotel, Northumberland Avenue on April 19 1893 (Cossey 1984:24). Significantly, the timing of this meeting coincided with the beginning of the London Season when many golf club members would be in town. Clubs expressing an interest sent along representatives. However, members from only fifteen English clubs and one Scottish club attended. This indicates that there was limited interest in the scheme especially from Scotland at this stage, although it is significant that the interest in Scotland came from St Andrews where the first ladies' golf club had originated. The Misses Agnes Grainger, Bruce-Johnstone and Murray Home represented St Andrews.

At this stage Miss Pearson sought the advice and support of Mr Laidlaw Purves, a Scot and one of the leading players from the Wimbledon Club, to assist with the initial organisation of the meeting. Mr Purves was sympathetic with the objectives of the ladies as he had tried to establish a similar golfing association for men, albeit unsuccessfully. He now turned his attention to supporting the ladies and gave his backing to the scheme, paying tribute to the ladies present at the meeting and indicating that their presence signified "the welfare of present and future golfers, which had not been evinced to the majority of the other sex" (Boys & Mackern 1899:14). The meeting also received the support of a popular society magazine, *The Gentlewoman*, which reported the instigation of the Ladies Golf Union as "a much needed movement" for lady golfers (April 29 1893). Significantly, this journal promoted sport and especially golf for women producing a golfing supplement between 1914 and 1916.

3.3.2 The purpose and aims of the Ladies' Golf Union

The idea of the Ladies' Golf Union (LGU) was not to "dictate" to the clubs which affiliated to it how they should be run but to "encourage a universality of aims" which would, it was hoped, "increase the sense of comradeship and sportsmanship" (Boys & Mackern 1899:16). Clubs which affiliated to the Union would have the opportunity of addressing their problems directly to this body which would give women golfers representation. The purpose and objectives of the LGU were as follows:

1. To promote the interests of the game of golf.
2. To obtain a uniformity of the rules of the game by establishing a representative legislative authority.
3. To establish a uniform system of handicapping.
4. To act as a tribunal and court of reference on points of uncertainty.
5. To arrange the Annual Championship Competition and to obtain funds necessary for that purpose.

It was felt that these were the priorities which needed to be addressed. All associated clubs would submit their local rules and bye-laws to the executive council in order that the Union could advise on those which were deemed unnecessary or contrary to the laws of golf. When playing in open competitions or inter-club matches difficulties of interpretation had sometimes arisen and it was considered that an impartial body could be a point of reference for club secretaries if assistance was necessary (Cossey 1984:27).

Before the establishment of the LGU, ladies' golf clubs developed their own handicapping systems based on their own course and in relation to other players. In many clubs players were over-handicapped with handicaps calculated from the 'scratch' score of the best player in the club often resulting in confusion when ladies visited other courses and club handicaps were inconsistent with their actual playing ability.[3] Therefore, a universal handicapping system had to be worked out. The LGU also wanted to establish a national championship where golfers from throughout the United Kingdom would be able to compete against each other for a national title.

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[3] See Glossary for explanations of golfing terms.

3.3.3 Representation on the LGU committee

The LGU was intended to represent all ladies' golf clubs, with clubs having the opportunity of voicing their opinions and voting rights. It was agreed at the preliminary meeting that the Union would be run by an executive of office bearers, consisting of four vice presidents, a treasurer, a secretary and a council of delegates. In recognition of the support that they had initially received from men, the ladies decided that men would be eligible for the executive and appointed four male vice-presidents who represented the interests of different parts of the country. Importantly, the ladies felt they could rely on the experience which men would bring to the Union and give it validity. It was not unknown for men to play some part in the organisation of other sports for women. The Grand National Archery Association supported the women's game and organised the ladies' national championships in 1880 (Hargreaves 1994:99). At a time when women might have been inhibited because of their relative lack of experience in administration, two women known for their organisational abilities at club level were ready to accept important roles in the LGU. Blanche Martin (later Mrs Blanche Martin Hulton) was elected Honorary Treasurer and Issette Pearson, Honorary Secretary, for which she received a small annual salary (Cossey 1984:27).

As Honorary Secretary, Issette took on the responsibility for the initial organisation of the work of the LGU. Until 1907, she ran the Union from her own home in Putney and from 1908 to 1912 from a room in Regent Street. Her determination and leadership were an asset to the Union and her credentials as a golfer were well respected also, as she had always been a competitive player. A woman with a strong will and domineering manner, she was often criticised for the autocratic way she wielded power and would not tolerate interference from 'outsiders' when it came to matters concerning women's golf. She acquired a nickname, 'the Czar', after an incident at an LGU final where she banned the press, as she felt they were distracting the players (Crane 1991:30).

3.3.4 Financing the LGU

In order to finance the Union, an entrance fee and annual subscription was charged from the clubs depending on the size of their membership. The LGU decided that clubs with under 100 members would be represented by one delegate on the executive committee, clubs with up to 200 members would have two and those clubs

with 300 or more members would be represented by three delegates. For those clubs with under 100 members, the entrance fee was 2 guineas (£2.10p) and an annual subscription of 1 guinea (£1.05p). A club with a membership of between 100 and 200 paid an entrance fee of 3 guineas (£3.15p) and an annual subscription of 2 guineas (£2.10p) and clubs with more than 200 members paid an entrance fee of 5 guineas (£5.25p) and a subscription 3 guineas (£3.15p) (Cossey 1984:28).

3.3.5 The Handicapping System

A handicap committee was formed from the executive to establish some uniformity in the handicapping system. The main reason for a handicap was a guide to the level of the quality of play of an individual. The method of handicapping in use by ladies at club level prior to the establishment of the LGU was assessed in relation to players within that club. Interestingly, as the term 'handicapping' came from horse-racing, where all horses would receive weight from the best horse and in theory should have an equal chance, in golf if a player was matched against a champion golfer then she needed to be given more than a few strokes to make the game fair. A champion or first class golfer was often rated at 'plus' (less than scratch) in opposition to those of a lesser standard. It was agreed that the handicapping committee would establish a 'par' for each course and the scratch scores of each course would give a standardised guide to the handicap to be allowed in both stroke (medal) play and match play.[4] If a scheme could be conceived whereby each club would calculate the par of the course by a method agreed upon by all clubs, then a fairer handicapping system would evolve. In calculating the lowest possible score for each hole, the following example indicates how this would be calculated. If it took a first-class lady golfer two strokes to get to the green and two putts were allowed on the green, then the par for that hole would be 4. In the 1890s, a hole under 120 yards was given a par of 3, a hole under 240 yards a par of 4, while a hole of under 320 yards was given a par of 5. The position of hazards such as walls and bushes, as well as the amount of run on the ball, was taken into account in making these calculations. The par of the whole course was fixed at a score that a lady champion would find difficulty lowering. Once this was determined the two best scores returned by a player in stroke (medal) play were added to the next best score and the total divided by three to give an average, with the difference between the average score and the par of the course, the player's handicap.

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[4] See Glossary.

This is illustrated in the following example.

Best score	75
Doubled	75
Next best score	81
Total	231
Divided by 3 - average	77
Par of the course	72
Player's handicap	5 (Source: Cossey 1984:47).

The principle of this handicapping system was based on the best form of a player and came into operation in 1896. A fixed limit of 25 was given as the maximum handicap and no player could be given a handicap unless she returned two scores within that number added to the par of the course. Issette explained the scheme to members of the LGU in an article published in the 1897 *LGU Annual*. She considered that the scheme had two great advantages; firstly, a player would receive the same handicap in every club to which she might belong; secondly, the system would do away with handicaps of 'plus'. If the par of the green was beaten, then it was proved to be too liberal and would be reduced.

In order that the scheme should be conducted with efficiency it was agreed that a register would be kept of all medal scores and handicap managers would be appointed to work out the handicaps and return them to the club secretaries on special forms ready for the medal returns. Club secretaries would send the results of their members to the local managers after each competition who would note any reduction in the handicap and then would return this to the club secretary. The scores would then be sent to the LGU honorary secretary to be inserted once a month in the official records. This sounds a very complicated procedure, but while there were only small numbers of affiliated clubs the scheme could be monitored. Four local handicap managers were elected to be responsible for managing handicaps in approximately eight clubs. By 1897, the two Scottish clubs which had affiliated to the LGU, Edinburgh Ladies' and Aberdeen Ladies' Golf Club, had adopted the LGU handicap system.

The LGU did not dictate that all affiliated clubs should conform to their handicapping system, but they did consider that those clubs which adopted the system would find it to their advantage. Some clubs continued to work for a time with two systems, their own and the LGU. As an incentive to players to conform, the LGU offered a silver medal in 1897 to every club. A gold medal was competed for annually by the winners of the silver medals. In order to return sufficient scores to obtain a handicap, an 'extra day' was designated for ladies to return a score for handicap purposes. If the weather was inclement on the medal day, then the extra day would give another chance to return a score. Handicapping and the way it is operated remains a topic worthy of debate among golfers.[5] One can immediately judge a player's standard by knowing what handicap that person holds.

3.3.6 Changes to handicap system

As a result of technological advancement in golfing equipment certain changes were made to the handicap system between the early 1900s and 1915, reflecting an improvement in the standard of women's play. The rubber-cored ball replaced the solid 'guttie' ball which was made of gutta-percha (a rubber like substance obtained from the latex of certain Malayan trees) around 1902. When the 'Haskell' (so called after its inventor Coburn Haskell) came into use, ladies found they could hit this ball further than the guttie with the result that the par of each course had to be re-adjusted to take this into account. Handicap managers advised in 1911 that if clubs had sufficient playing members, they could be divided into a high and low division based on their handicaps. The 'silver' division would be comprised of players with handicaps of 25 or less, while the 'bronze' division would include those with handicaps to 40. This was later adjusted to a maximum of 20 for the silver division and 36 for the bronze division. This remained the case until 1931 when the silver division limit was lowered to 18. These changes reflected a general improvement in the standard of play.

3.3.7 Maintaining records

In order to keep golfers informed about what was happening in ladies' golf, the LGU devised a handbook as an official point of reference.[6] Issette Pearson was

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[5] See Chapter Eight for further discussion of changes to the system in the 1990s.

[6] Until 1899, it was named the *LGU Annual*, thereafter it was re-named *The LGU Official Yearbook* and it is now entitled *The Lady Golfer's Handbook*.

meticulous from the outset in maintaining records and the Minutes of each meeting were faithfully recorded and reported in the handbook. The first *LGU Annual*, priced at one shilling (5p), produced in 1894, contained a comprehensive list of affiliated clubs and details about each one. It also contained the rules and regulations of the Union, as well as reports of the formal meetings of the LGU, along with a full description of the year's Championship, including a map of the course. Issette was among the contributors to one of the first books published on ladies' golf, *Our Lady of the Green*. Containing essays relating to aspects of the LGU as well as a summary of the state of ladies' golf at the end of the 19th century, it was an important contribution to the sporting literature of the period.[7]

In subsequent years, the *LGU Annual* also published short essays on topics of interest with Miss Starkie Bence, one of the first handicap managers, a regular contributor. In publishing an *Annual*, the LGU was able to keep its members informed regarding the state of ladies' golf nation wide. However the handbook became increasingly expensive to produce, costing two shillings (10p) in 1900. It was sent out free of charge to all associated clubs and the LGU considered abandoning it before they received financial assistance from *The Gentlewoman* which helped offset the cost of publication. Including advertisements helped make the production more viable.

3.4 Establishing a National Championship

> "The lady golfers have wisely made their first step, the formation of a body which shall have every right to take the initiative in the institution of a championship" (*The Gentlewoman* April 8 1893).

The LGU hoped that a national championship open to all female golfers would bring a focus to women's golf and give those interested the opportunity to compete against others of a similar level. In other individual sports such as tennis and archery, ladies were able to compete against each other at national level. The Grand National Archery Society ran a female Championship from 1880 and the All-England Club had inaugurated the first ladies' tennis Championship at Wimbledon in 1884 (McCrone 1988:158).

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[7] Edited by M Boys and L Mackern, the book, published in 1899, was dedicated to "all sporting and plucky golfers of our sex".

The ladies of St Anne's Golf Club in Lancashire had already announced in April 1893 (prior to the formation of the LGU) that they were considering running an 'open' competition and had received contributions towards the purchase of a fifty guinea challenge cup. That several of the ladies' clubs were wealthy enough and willing to subscribe generous donations towards the cup indicates that there was some interest in the idea of an 'open' championship to decide the best golfer. It appeared logical that St Anne's and the LGU should combine their efforts. The newly formed LGU agreed to organise the national championship and accepted the offer made by St Anne's to use their course. This club had a reputation of "treating its female members with fairness", which indicates that they could rely on assistance from the male members of the club (Crane 1991:18). Issette Pearson, with the assistance of Laidlaw Purves and the LGU committee, proceeded to organise the event. Some male golfers were sceptical about women's competence in organising let alone playing in a major championship. Among them was Horace Hutchison, who predicted in a letter to Blanche Martin in April 1893, that the first Ladies' Championship would be the last.

> "They will never go through *one* Ladies' Championship with credit. Tears will bedew, if wigs do not bestrew, the green. Constitutionally and physically women are unfitted for golf. They will never last through two rounds of a long course in a day. Nor can they hope to defy the wind and weather encountered on our best links even in spring and summer. Temperamentally the strain will be too great for them. The first Ladies' Championship will be the last unless I and others are greatly mistaken" (Quoted from Mair 1992:13).

His comments did not thwart the determination of Issette Pearson and the LGU committee to prove him wrong and make this event a success. In a little under two months after the inaugural meeting in April 1893 to form the Union, they had made all the necessary arrangements for the Ladies' British Open Amateur Championship to take place between the 13th and 15th June 1893, indicating the efficiency of women as organisers [8].

Hutchison was incorrect in assuming that the choice of course would be too difficult. The nine hole course of 2132 yards at St Anne's was not particularly testing or challenging and had no formidable hazards with the longest hole measuring just 337 yards (McCrone 1988:171). The championship was contested however over

[8] Officially known as the Ladies' British Open Amateur Championship, but generally referred to as the Ladies' Championship.

eighteen holes and took the form of match play. Of the thirty-eight women who entered, the vast majority were from clubs in England. Portrush in Ireland was represented as was Pau, a club in the Pyrenees. This was hardly representative of a national championship with the Scots notable absentees despite the St Andrews club having sent delegates to the first LGU meeting. Did the Scots consider themselves too remote geographically or were they apathetic to a national competition run by the LGU with its headquarters in the south of England? The St Andrews and North Berwick clubs, who had some English lady members, did contribute to the cost of the trophy, which suggests that there were individuals who agreed in principle with a national 'open' championship. The state of competitive women's golf in England appeared to be more developed and one can but speculate that Scottish women golfers lacked the competitive incentive to take part in national competition outwith their geographical boundary at this time.

The inaugural Championship attracted a few spectators "largely motivated by curiosity about how women could play" (McCrone 1988:171). This was the first opportunity for the general public to witness an official golfing event involving women. Mabel Stringer [9] recollected being present at the inaugural championship as a child and recalled in an interview that with hindsight, it was "a great occasion complete with marquees, flags, brass bands, etc" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* April 1943: 40-1). The two most competent players in the field reached the final; eighteen year old Lady Margaret Scott, representing Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire and Issette Pearson of Wimbledon. The match was dominated by Lady Margaret who won with ease. Miss Pearson, although an accomplished iron player, failed to offer much challenge perhaps because of her devotion to the duties in organising the Championship (Crane 1991:19). At the prize giving, the Challenge Bowl and gold medal were presented to the winner with the runner up receiving a silver medal and the semi-finalists, bronze medals. Medals and a cup suggest that these more traditional rewards signified an important event and achievement rather than the presentation of prizes of a more personal nature in the form of silver trinkets more normally associated with lesser tournaments.

After claiming the title for a third successive year Lady Margaret retired gracefully from championship golf in Britain leaving the way clear for others. Between 1894 and 1896 entries increased from England and Ireland, but Scotland was still under-

[9] Mabel Stringer was one of the LGU's handicap managers and also a golf journalist. She later formed the Veteran's Association (over 50s).

represented. One could attribute this to the relative competitive inexperience of Scottish players who were not used to playing quite so publicly. Miss Whigham, the sole Scot at the 1895 Championship, was defeated by Lottie Dod, an accomplished and successful tennis player. Miss Dod had been a winner of the Wimbledon tennis championship on five occasions. When the Championship returned to England in 1896 and was played at Hoylake near Liverpool, there was a marginal increase of interest from Scotland with a complement of three Scots, all considered to be first class players in Scotland, but only one of them reached the fourth round indicating that the standard of the Scots was not as high as others in the field. The number of spectators watching the final, in the region of 3000, suggests that lady golfers were no longer regarded as a curiosity and this major competition was capable of attracting more than the casual observer.

By 1897, there were over 40 ladies' golf clubs in Scotland, some with no more than 30 members and others with a membership in excess of 370, so it was apparent that Scottish women were interested enough in golf to form their own clubs. That Scots appeared reticent to become part of the LGU was clear from their lack of response to this organisation.[10] Laidlaw Purves, with his Scottish connections, had indicated to Issette Pearson that he was aware of many talented individuals in Scotland. It was suggested by a correspondent in the sporting publication *Golf* that if the Championship were held in Scotland it might encourage Scottish ladies to enter. Scottish players had apparently been reluctant to play away from their home territory owing to the distance and the cost of travelling to the venues such as Littlestone in Kent, St Anne's and Hoylake on the north-west coast of England and Portrush in the north of Ireland. Those who did were shown to have little match experience.

3.4.1 The Ladies' Championship at Gullane, East Lothian.

A meeting of the LGU was held to decide on the venue for the 1897 Ladies' Championship and four courses were considered, three in Scotland - St Andrews, Gullane and the Burgess (in Edinburgh) and one in the north of England. Issette Pearson had been informed that if she wrote for permission to hold the meeting at St Andrews, it would be granted. However, St Andrews was not in a position to offer the links in May, the time requested. The LGU executive, after some discussion on the merits of the other courses, voted by 19 votes to 6 to hold the Championship at Gullane in East Lothian (*LGU Annual* 1896).

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[10] See Appendix II for Golf Clubs in Scotland 1867-1903.

The choice of Gullane in the heartland of golfing links country was a popular one although there was no ladies' golf club in Gullane at this time. The East Lothian coast attracted many wealthy visitors from south of the border as well as Scotland with "a substantial portion ... drawn from the professional and titled classes" Nearby North Berwick had earned the name, 'the Biarritz of the North' not only for its bracing climate and fine leisure attractions, but as a "centre of select and fashionable tourism", as Durie (1993:82) observes in his study of East Lothian. A ladies' golf club had already been established there in 1888 and it was hoped that visiting players would be attracted by a stay in the fashionable resort of North Berwick and local players would see the advantage of playing close to home.

To organise the event, it was thought appropriate to form a Championship committee and involve local officials of Gullane Golf Club as well as officials of the LGU. The Captain, former Captain and Secretary were invited to be part of the committee thus ensuring that the ladies would have the use of the clubhouse as well as the local school for their headquarters. The headmaster, who was also the club secretary, closed the school for the week of the Championship between the 24th and the 28th May (Cox, M 1996:19). With a main line railway close by it was thought that a large entry would be received from Scottish players. Arrangements for transporting participants, officials and supporters to Gullane from the stations at Drem and Longniddry were arranged by horse drawn conveyances.

The starting sheet for the Ladies' Championship revealed an entry of 96 players, 37 of whom represented Scottish clubs.[11] This was approximately a third of the entry, with the remainder coming from England, Wales and Ireland. The majority of the Scottish players were single women and represented clubs from the East of Scotland and the North-East. These were listed as follows: North Berwick (10 players), Dunbar (2), Edinburgh (5), Portobello (2), Craigmillar Park (1), Falkirk Tryst (3), St Andrews (3), Elie & Earlsferry (1), Montrose (2) and Aberdeen (5). Two competitors represented the Borders clubs of Hawick and Torwoodlee and one entry came from Greenock in the West of Scotland. *The Scotsman* attributed the increase in the Scottish entry to "eagerness ... and the wonderful proficiency that ladies have attained" and offered the LGU success and good wishes for the Championship (May 25 1897).

[11] The LGU archive in St Andrews has the original Starting Sheet for 1897 (LGU. 70.012).

An important aspect of golf in the 1890s was the opportunity to socialise. The Championship week at Gullane gave the ladies a chance to enjoy local hospitality. In previous years garden parties and other social activities were organised in the grounds of large local houses. This was an expected part of a golfing event on this scale. Mr Law invited participants to Archerfield House, a large estate with a private golf links, and organised a competition with prizes donated by eminent local dignitaries. A total of seventy-two ladies played in a stroke play competition and were entertained to tea afterwards where, according to a report, everything was organised with a great attention to detail (*The Scotsman* May 24 1897).

Competitors were also given access to practise on the course prior to the Championship and play in a stroke play competition. The competition, held on a local holiday, in recognition of the Queen's Birthday (24th May) gave the one hundred competitors who entered a chance to familiarise themselves with the Gullane course, as well as to compete for prizes. The value of these material objects indicates the wealth of those who were part of the golfing establishment in this area. Members of Gullane Golf Club donated a necklace (valued at ten guineas) and a pair of silver-mounted scent bottles. The Captain contributed a gold bangle and the LGU presented prizes of a silver hand mirror and a silver toilet box in a driving and pitching competition (*The Gentlewoman* June 5 1897:796). The practice of playing for material as opposed to monetary prizes was well established by 1897.

Gullane was the most challenging course encountered by the Ladies Championship up to this time. The links measured two and three quarter miles in length (4863 yards), not long by modern standards, but the undulating nature of the terrain with its uphill and downhill runs measured its degree of difficulty. This was also the first time since the Championship began that the ladies had played over a long course without shortened tees. The lengths of the holes ranged from 160 yards to 355 yards, requiring the competitors to use a variety of shots. The ladies had to apply their ingenuity to play approach shots at five of the holes on the inward half where the greens were well guarded with bunkers.

Play in the first round commenced on the Tuesday at 1.30 p.m. with the last players going out at 4.35 p.m. With the fourth and fifth rounds played on Thursday at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. an element of fortitude was required by the competitors to sustain two rounds of golf in one day. Ladies dressed in long skirts, tight fitting jackets and straw boaters had to contend with all manner of problems regarding the weather reported as

being 'inclement' for the time of year. The semi-finals and final on Friday May 28th were reported as being played in a thick mist and a cold wind with occasional showers of rain. One can but admire the tenacity of these ladies to play on a course as taxing as this in such conditions.

An opportunity to witness the different techniques employed by players and how the styles of Scottish and English players measured up, was observed by Miss Starkie-Bence (1898:272) who noted that "the Scotch swing" was "rather short and quick", but entirely free from any "jerk or strain", whilst the swings of the English players appeared "somewhat longer and slower". In her estimation the "pendulum like" action amongst the Scots was evidence of a familiarity with clubs from an early age. Scottish golfers who had been brought up in a golfing family would more than likely have participated in the game at some stage in their childhood and might well have experienced a round of golf on a windy links where a short swing was the best way of controlling the direction and flight of the ball.

With almost two thirds of the competitors being non Scots, English players were inevitably drawn to play against each other. Miss Starkie-Bence considered it would have been "much more exciting and interesting to have found them pitted North against South" (1898:321). But this was primarily a Championship to identify the best player overall and not a tussle between Scotland and England. Laidlaw Purves considered that drawing one player against another without any form of seeding, brought out the best in each player (Cossey 1984:189). Issette Pearson, who had proved in past Championships a formidable opponent in reaching three finals, was eliminated in the first round by Miss Pascoe from Surrey. Eleven of the Scottish players, however, did reach the fourth round of the Championship. The standard of play was reported to be remarkably keen with some matches going to extra holes. Several of the competitors had received tuition from recognised professionals, which arguably might have accounted for their success. Three sisters from North Berwick, the Misses Orr, the young daughters of an importer of Turkish carpets, had all received tuition in North Berwick from Davie Grant, brother-in-law of Ben Sayers, the local professional (Kerr 1896:342). Their high standard of play and style was supposedly due to his expert tuition. Two of the sisters, Edith and Aimee, reached the semi-finals, Edith narrowly beating Miss Titterton from Portobello in one semi-final, while Aimee, in the other semi-final, defeated Miss Kennedy, an eighteen year old from Rhyl. The two sisters, Edith and Aimee, contested the final with Edith's strong driving, accurate approaching and putting giving her victory over her older sister.

The youthfulness of the finalists, the services of the professional golfers who caddied for them (including Ben Sayers) and their considerable local knowledge, reputedly played a major part in their success, as well as the support of the crowd estimated at 2,000. There was evidence too that interest had been generated by the press as reports appeared daily in local newspapers. The display by the women golfers emphasised the degree of proficiency attained in five years since the inaugural Championship at St Anne's. Women had the stamina required to play on a long testing course such as Gullane. Some of the men in the crowd seemed surprised by the standard of play and one was heard to exclaim, "this is fair golf and worth coming to see!" (*The Scotsman* May 29 1897). The correspondent from *The Scotsman* concluded that ladies could excel in their golf "given application, sound teaching and plenty of practice" and were capable of playing to a high standard (*The Scotsman* May 29 1897). In celebration of the event an artist, Michael Brown, depicted a group portrait of competitors preparing to play. **Fig. 5a**

The Championship was also a boost to the local economy, bringing visitors to Gullane and business to the public houses. These establishments were reported to have been especially busy with caddies imbibing as well as betting on individuals and on the outcome of the Championship. The father of the Orr sisters, who had strict Presbyterian principles, had witnessed with alarm some of the caddies behaving in an irresponsible manner. Consequently he forbade his daughters to compete in any further competitions signifying the protection of their moral welfare. While Edith Orr had to forego the defence of her title, this also deprived Scotland of three young and talented players.

When the Championship returned south of the border to Great Yarmouth the following year, Scottish ladies were absent yet again, being unprepared to make the journey. Miss Titterton, who represented Musselburgh, along with three others from Aberdeen ventured over the Irish Sea to Newcastle, Co Down for the event in 1899. One must conclude that the LGU, despite its efforts, had failed to make any real impact with the Scottish clubs. The Championship at Westward Ho in Devon failed to attract any Scots in 1900 with Miss Titterton Scotland's sole representative at Aberdovey in Gwynedd in 1901. At Deal in Kent in 1902, she was joined by six others, Miss Alexa Glover from Elie, Miss Sandeman from St Andrews, the Misses

Molly and Sybil Whigham from Prestwick and Mrs Mungo Park and her two daughters from Portobello.[12]

With the main officials of the LGU and its organisation located in London, could it be that Scottish golfers still felt a sense of isolation? If England wanted to see more Scottish women competing at national level one way would be first to create a championship for Scottish players on home soil. This might help the Scots gain self confidence and so be more ready to compete in England, Wales and Ireland. As May Hezlet, a prominent Irish golfer declared, if lady golfers were to test their "true capabilities", they had to take part in national championships as well as in club and district competitions (Hezlet 1907:137).

3.5 The Organisation of Scottish Golf

The idea for a Scottish Championship came in 1903, ten years after the establishment of the LGU and the first Ladies' British Open Amateur Championship. It was the motivation of an English woman who had Scottish golfers' interests at heart who initiated the action which resulted in the formation of an organisation to support women golfers and women's golf in Scotland.

3.5.1 Miss Agnes Grainger

Being a member along with her sister Frances of Littlestone Ladies' Golf Club in Kent, Miss Agnes Grainger, from south-west London, was familiar with the way that competitions and championships were organised in the south of England. **Fig.5b** She viewed similar possibilities for competition among the Scots and was familiar with the golf situation in Scotland, being a regular visitor to St Andrews. At the inaugural meeting of the LGU in 1893, Miss Grainger had acted as a representative for St Andrews. A member of the St Rule Club, a fashionable social club for ladies, founded in the town in 1896, Miss Grainger was one of the 'outsiders' who established a golf section within the St Rule Club in October 1898.[13] Marigold Speir, a present day member of the St Rule Club and another incomer to St Andrews, is convinced that it needed 'outsiders' to galvanise the local members into action.

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[12] Entry sheets for the Ladies' Championship in the LGU archive give details of the progression of players in each round (LGU.70.012).

[13] For further discussion of the St Andrews and the St Rule Club see Chapter Five.

> "You get Miss Grainger in full flight from square one and what's quite amusing is that quite a few of the ones who were go-getters didn't really live in St Andrews. They lived in London and came up for the season, I think, more or less and took houses probably up here, but it was ... the Miss Graingers who got things going around here ... she obviously wasn't a local, no, but she must have loved Scottish golf very much" (Marigold Speir SA1998.05) [14]

Miss Grainger was appointed the Golf Chairman of St Rule in 1898 and then took on the role of Captain from 1901 (Julius1998:27). Not much is known of her golfing ability. Her name seldom appeared on entry sheets for competitions other than those of St Rule. Her skills lay more in her ability to organise and administer women's golf. She considered that Scottish players would gain more experience of match play if they were able to compete in a wider field than that offered by their local clubs. Her idea was to inaugurate a Scottish Ladies' Championship and if it was successful, maintain the momentum by creating an association which would administer this national championship. Her techniques were similar to those employed by Issette Pearson, in writing to the ladies' clubs and in getting support from men. By enlisting the golf clubs and seeking the co-operation of the members of the Royal and Ancient in St Andrews, she considered that a national championship would give a focus to women's golf in Scotland.

3.5.2 Enlisting support for the Scottish Championship

The subject of instituting such a Championship was discussed informally first by Miss Grainger and other members of the St Rule Club with the idea getting general approval. The Minutes of the AGM of the St Rule Club in 1903 record that having called a committee meeting to discuss the details of a Championship, the Royal and Ancient would be approached and asked for the courtesy of the Old Course for the competition. The reply received stated that their request would be favourably considered if the "necessary arrangements were made for the Championship" (reported in a Minute of St Rule AGM October 3 1903). With these conditions in mind, a letter was drawn up and circulated to all the ladies' golf clubs in Scotland, informing them of the scheme for a Championship and requesting contributions towards the purchase of a Challenge trophy and a die for medals. The committee received an encouraging response and the sum of £34/9/6 was contributed by twenty-two clubs towards the initial expenses and

[14] See also Douglas (1989) unpublished paper.

trophies.[15] With the support and financial backing of the clubs, the officials could make formal application to the Green's Committee of the R&A for the courtesy of the Old Course. The answer received was affirmative, but conditional on members of the R&A being allowed to assist with the starting facilities. "After careful consideration", the ladies accepted the offer made by the gentlemen (Minute of the St Rule AGM October 3 1903). Conditions of play were drafted by the committee and an entry fee of 7s 6d (37.5p) requested. This was sent out to the clubs with the result that forty-six entries were received. A prize for the Championship was donated by the St Rule Golf Club, as well as an additional prize from the St Rule (Social) Club.

3.5.3 The Scottish Ladies' Golf Championship

As with the Ladies' British Championship, a preliminary stroke competition took place prior to the Championship. This gave the forty-two players competitors the chance to have some practise on the course prior to the main event. High scoring was recorded due to windy conditions, but the successful competitors were rewarded with prizes which included a silver bracelet, a pearl brooch and a silver clock (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903).

The Scottish Ladies' Golf Championship commenced on Tuesday 16th June 1903 with Tom Morris, the professional, and Miss Grainger acting as the official starters to the field of forty (six fewer than the original entry). Importantly, not all ladies who entered represented a club, which indicates that it was an 'open' competition.[16] The interest which the Scottish Championship generated from women golfers indicates not only that women were prepared to travel to St Andrews on this occasion to compete, but that enclaves of golfers had been established in inland areas as well as on the east and west coast of Scotland.[17]

The Championship received extensive coverage in the Scottish local and national newspapers. *The Scotsman* reported full details of each day's play and a report in the local paper, the *St Andrews Citizen*, observed the decidedly 'ca canny' attitude of the Scottish ladies.

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[15] Not all of these clubs were represented by entrants to the Championship, but nevertheless made a donation. Reported in the Minutes of the AGM of the St Rule Club October 3 1903.
[16] See Appendix I, Scottish Ladies' Championship, St Andrews June 16 1903.
[17] See Appendix II, Ladies' Golf Clubs in Scotland 1867-1903.

> "A ladies' golf competition is nothing new now-a-days (sic), but Scotland, with its proverbial cautiousness, has waited to see the lady golfer thoroughly established before it ventured to initiate a Championship for the fair sex. It is to the credit of the St Rule Golf Club, St Andrews, that they have taken the responsibility of initiating this Championship. And their efforts have not been in vain" (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903).

The Scotsman also commented in its golf column on the "characteristic modesty" of the Scottish ladies who had left it to their "golfing sisters south of the Tweed to lead the way" in the inauguration of a Championship. The "forthright" Miss Grainger was given credit for her organisational skills and had been "untiring in her efforts" to organise the Scottish Championship (*The Scotsman* June 17 1903). But the reporter wondered if the ladies had perhaps put themselves at a disadvantage in choosing the Old Course for the inaugural Championship.

> "The course is a test for the first class golfer of the sterner sex. In many cases he reaches the green in two strokes ... the ladies cannot get home in two strokes ... though they come very near to it ... the holes are awkwardly placed as regards their style of play ... a course that provides a first class test for a man cannot be suitable for a woman ... they would undoubtedly have done themselves more justice on an easier course" (*The Scotsman* June 23 1903).

A reporter in the *St Andrews Citizen* seemed duly impressed by the determination of the women golfers.

> "If the competition has done anything it has abundantly proved that the margin between the leading lady golfers and the best class gentleman players is exceedingly narrow" (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903).

3.5.4 The Champion, Miss Alexa Glover

Of all the competitors, Miss Alexa Glover of Elie, at nineteen years of age, was arguably the most experienced of the Scots in the field having the most knowledge of competition outside Scotland. The daughter of a wealthy Edinburgh business man, she was competitive golfer and a regular visitor to the Continent, playing much of her golf in the south of France at Cannes, Nice and Menton, where she was a member of the club. She had also reached the fifth

round of the British Ladies' Championship in 1902 at Deal, only to be defeated by the eventual winner, Miss May Hezlet from Ireland. Miss Glover's composure as she progressed through the match play rounds of the Championship was admired by the reporter from the *St Andrews Citizen*, who considered she possessed "the coolness of a Vardon" in reaching the final against Miss Graham of the St Rule Club (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903). Harry Vardon had come to prominence in the 1895 Open Championship at St Andrews, where he was the first round leader. Like Vardon, Miss Glover's strength lay in her ability to control her driver and hit with accuracy as well as swing the club gracefully. The honour of being the first winner of the Challenge Cup went to Miss Glover. An additional prize of an engraved medal for the champion rather than the more usual silver brooch, denoted an award for an important achievement .

The Championship attracted large crowds who not only attended the prize giving but followed the matches round the course. The public applauded the finalists, especially Miss Glover for "her plucky fight and well-deserved victory" (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903). According to a report in the *Evening Telegraph*, "Miss Glover's victory was warmly received by the fashionable assemblage ... the ladies' championship has come to stay' (*Evening Telegraph* June 23 1903). To mark her victory, Alexa's father hosted a celebration in Earlsferry Town Hall with music and dancing. Her achievement was also eulogised in verse a few months after the event.

"Sing me a song of a champion,
With little and willowy form.
As she bends to drive for a three or five -
Does it not make your heart's blood warm
To the game of the old club and the flying ball,
And the velvet turf so green,
And likewise of course, with magnetic force
To our golfing lady Queen.

Sing me a song of a champion,
Sing it again with glee;
With might and main let the grand refrain
Resound to the farthest tee;
Let it tell how our Fife champion
Fought her way through a struggle keen,
Till at last she stood, as she only could,

Scotland's first young golfing Queen" (Roger Smith 1903)[18]

While many songs and poems written on golf had men as subject matter, women could delight in knowing that a female sporting heroine was being hailed in verse as a Champion for her own sex and in her own country. The Champion and the Championship were acclaimed as a success south of the border too with *The Gentlewoman* welcoming the efforts of women in Scotland. "The first Scottish Ladies' Golf Championship must be regarded with great satisfaction by the organisers and players alike as a most successful undertaking...and this despite the absence of the Misses Whigham and Misses Orr" (*The Gentlewoman* July 4 1903). May Hezlet, a former British Ladies' Champion, also acknowledged the outcome of the Scottish Championship and "hoped that this favourable commencement will give an impetus to the game in Scotland and be the means of encouraging and inducing more of the prominent lady golfers to take part in open meetings held in England during the year" (Hezlet 1907:25). A report in *Ladies Field* considered that "the Scottish championship will receive the support it deserves, for although Scotland is the rightful home of the pastime, and although the Scottish ladies hold their own so well ... the absence of the Scottish entry for Championships held elsewhere has been quite one of the most astonishing features hitherto in the ladies golfing world" (*Ladies Field* June 2 1903).

Indeed, after winning the Championship, Alexa Glover, who was courted by the society magazines (her achievement being seen as something to be emulated by other young Scottish golfers), was asked if she could enlighten the public as to why the Scots had been reluctant to compete in national competitions. She observed that, "Until quite lately, most of our best players have been the wives or daughters of professionals who are not as a rule too richly endowed with worldly goods and taking part in matches and numerous competitions held all over the kingdom is apt to involve a considerable expenditure, hence the trouble. But we hope shortly to see a different state of affairs, as golf is being much more extensively played than formerly" (*Lady's Pictorial* February 16 1904). From this observation one can conclude that those with modest means had been held in check. One could also argue that there was a demarcation between those with

[18] Two verses from a poem by Roger Smith, entitled *Our Lady Golf Champion*, which appeared in the *East of Fife Record* August 5 1903. This poem was inspired by the writer seeing Miss Glover playing on the Ferry links, with her tutor, A.H. Scott.

financial means who still had the best opportunities to progress in golf and those whose credentials were socially inferior.

3.5.5 Outcome of the Championship

The first Scottish Championship had fulfilled its aim which was to promote the game in Scotland and establish an annual meeting in an atmosphere of sportsmanship. Agnes Grainger and her committee had encouraged Scottish women golfers to participate and compete on a national basis. It was hoped that future years would see an increase in interest and confidence resulting in the Scots entering for the British Ladies' Open Championship. The Scottish Championship was declared a moderate financial success when a balance of "2/- to the good" (10p) was handed over to the special committee of management to take the event forward (Minutes of the St Rule AGM October 3 1903). A committee composed of Miss Grainger (St Rule), Miss Glover (Elie), Miss Harvey (Montrose), Miss Hamilton-Campbell (St Nicholas) and Miss D Campbell (North Berwick) agreed to make arrangements for the next championship to take place the following year at Prestwick (Dunlop-Hill 1929:3).

3.6 The Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association

In order to fund and organise future championships a scheme was put forward by Miss Hamilton-Campbell and Miss M J Alison of St Nicholas, Prestwick to form an Association which would be responsible for golf in Scotland. The creation of a Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association (SLGA) in 1904 marked the start of the formal organisation of women's golf in Scotland.[19] Along with Miss M A Graham, Miss Grainger was made a vice-president of the Association at the first committee meeting in 1904 and took possession of the chair at all the successive meetings. Miss Grainger appeared to devote most of her time to golf administration, organising the steering committee for the SLGA and the St Rule Golf Club, as well instigating the Scottish Championship. She was the undoubted driving force behind the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association in the early years when it was developing and often appeared a formidable force,

[19] Noel Dunlop-Hill outlines the establishment of the Scottish Ladies' Championship and the early years of the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association in the *History of the Scottish Ladies Golfing Association 1903-1928.* See Bibliography.

assertive in manner, demanding attention and results, but like Issette Pearson, she was a pioneer in relatively unknown sporting territory for women. Women had little experience before the 1890s of being in the position to direct a sport in its organised form. Miss Grainger's ambition was to raise the profile of women's golf in Scotland and to use her position in the hierarchy of the SLGA to bring about change.

From the early Minute Books of the SLGA, it is clear that the minutes of each meeting were written and signed not by the secretary and treasurer, Miss Hamilton-Campbell, but by Miss Grainger herself, indicating her control over proceedings.[20] Representatives on the committee were invited to serve for a limited period and retired in rotation alphabetically but Miss Grainger remained in the post of vice president until 1916. Miss Hamilton-Campbell on the other hand served as secretary and treasurer for four years.

3.6.1 Conditions of admission to the Association

At the first meeting on May 18 1904, the management committee decided that any recognised golf club in Scotland should be eligible for admission to the Association. The Association would be funded by an annual subscription of 2/6 (12.5p) for clubs of 50 members or under, 5/- (25p) for clubs of 100 members or under and 7/6 (37.5p) for clubs of over 100 members. Each club would be represented by a delegate to the General Meetings which would be held twice a year, the first during the week of the Championship and the second in October.[21] It was also agreed that a special General Meeting could be called at any time on the request of the initial fifteen clubs who took up membership. As the association was formed principally to organise the Scottish Championship, a decision was made on entry fees for the Championship both for clubs and individuals. It was agreed that members of associated clubs would pay 5/- (25p) entry fee, while other individuals would pay 7/6 (37.5p). This would serve to meet the expenses in connection with the running of the Championship such as tips to greenkeepers, caddie masters and starters.

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[20] Minutes of the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association 1904-08.
[21] The first of these meetings was held in St Nicholas Clubhouse, May 18 1904.

3.6.2 Conducting General Meetings

As well as the trophy awarded to the Champion, clubs could enter a team with the prospect of winning the team trophy. Beatrice, Countess of Eglinton and Winton and patron of the SLGA, had presented a quaich for this purpose in 1906. The Eglintons were great patrons of sport in Scotland, notably in curling as well as golf and were responsible for presenting many handsome trophies of silverware.[22] In 1907, the delegates at the General Meeting voted by a majority of fifteen in favour of clubs entering more than one team for the 'Eglinton Quaich'. Miss Grainger, however, voted against the proposal. In this instance, a special meeting was required to be called for further discussion in order "to please Miss Grainger", who was unhappy about the procedure used in making this particular decision. She was able to wield her authority in an attempt to amend decisions if need be. Some meetings were not without disagreements which occasionally assumed a personalised nature resulting in a distinctly uncomfortable atmosphere. From the Minutes, it can be deduced that Miss Grainger and Miss Hamilton-Campbell were locked in a situation fraught with tension regarding the decision. Miss Grainger, on the one hand, wanted to know if the SLGA had a rule by which 15 days notice had to be given to the different clubs before such a proposal could be brought up at the General Meeting, while the secretary, Miss Hamilton-Campbell was adamant that, as no rule existed, the decision which had been passed should stand. She felt that Miss Grainger should "drop the question". It is clear that Miss Grainger had no intention of doing so, as she "had not done with it yet". Miss Grainger appeared at times to be quite autocratic, as becomes obvious from the proceedings recorded in the Minutes.

This matter was not to rest as Miss Grainger pursued her point in public by writing to *The Scotsman* making it known that a vote had been forced on the clubs without a proper chance of discussion on the issue.[23] The tone of the letter suggested that the members (and here she appears to include herself) had not been given sufficient warning and had to vote hastily, without prior knowledge of the issue. The outcome, she felt, was not a true reflection of the members' wishes. Several months later a reply appeared in *The Scotsman* from the secretary, Miss Hamilton-Campbell, who, in the interim, had contacted the thirty-seven clubs affiliated to the SLGA, to gauge from them "the real feeling of

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[22] See Chapter Two.

[23] Letter to *The Scotsman* dated September 20 1907 from Agnes Grainger, Vice-president, SLGA.

the Association".[24] She was able to report, that they were "wholeheartedly behind the decision taken at the meeting".[25] The impression given to 'outsiders' is that Miss Grainger was a determined character who was used to getting her own way. The result of this incident was that Miss Hamilton-Campbell tendered her resignation the following year, although she was asked "almost unanimously" to reconsider her decision.

3.6.3 Choosing the venue for the Scottish Championship

Among the committee's tasks was to choose the course for the Championship. As more clubs affiliated to the SLGA, it was important to choose courses with good accessibility and amenities, but also to rotate the Championship venues to cover different geographical areas of Scotland. It is evident as the Minutes indicate that clubs offered their courses for the championship in the first instance and their merits were discussed by the committee before a choice was made. North Berwick was chosen unanimously as the 1905 venue from a list which included Cruden Bay, Montrose and Carnoustie. Occasionally votes would be tied and Miss Grainger normally in the chair would use her casting vote as occurred in 1909 following a discussion between the merits of the courses at Nairn and Machrihanish. She chose in favour of Machrihanish, a favourite holiday destination on the Kintyre peninsula which attracted visitors from all over Scotland as well as south of the border.[26]

As an indication of how eagerly anticipated the Scottish Championship was by some women, *The Scotsman* published a feature on the subject of which this is an extract.

> "To many of us it is *the* event of the year … How carefully we place that brassie in the caddie bag … in goes the driver beside the cleek, irons, mashie and putter … we turn our attention to our boxes. Our golfing things are thrown into one and we ask our maid to make sure that our prettiest evening dresses are put into another… " (*The Scotsman* June 20 1909)

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[24] Letter to *The Scotsman* dated February 28 1908 from M.V. Hamilton-Campbell.
[25] Copies of the two letters from *The Scotsman* are pasted side by side in the Minute Book as evidence of this 'storm in a teacup', June 1 1908.
[26] The *LGU Official Yearbook* lists names and addresses from members south of the border. Machrihanish featured several times as the venue for the Scottish Championship in 1913, 1921 and 1927.

Having consulted friends to find out who would be entering and scanning *The Scotsman* for familiar names in the draw, competitors set off for Campbeltown by steamer, to be greeted on arrival by Miss Grainger (referred to by this writer as "that fine lady who has done so much for Scottish golf"). This account indicates that although the Scottish Championship was becoming an important part of the golfing calendar for the serious golfer, the social atmosphere surrounding the event was still important for ladies with leisure time as well as money.

3.6.4 Representation of a national team

The standard of play achieved by the women who entered for the Scottish Championship and who reached the final stages was noted in press reports. At the Scottish Championship at Cruden Bay in 1906, *The Scotsman* reported on "a distinct improvement all over in the character of the play". The final had produced probably the finest exhibition of skill between Miss Dorothy Campbell and Miss Alexa Glover "ever seen in a concluding round" (*The Scotsman* June 26 1906). Both of these ladies had some success in the British Ladies' Championship in 1904 and 1905. With the standard of play seemingly improving by 1906, the SLGA chose a team to represent Scotland against the other home countries. Miss Grainger suggested that she should be made manager of the Scottish team. There being no discussion recorded on this matter, it can only be assumed that the committee agreed to this (Minute of SLGA June 18 1906). At Burnham in Somerset with a team of seven, which included Miss Dorothy Campbell and Miss Alexa Glover, Scotland were successful in winning the International Challenge Trophy. Their success may have been due to Miss Grainger's careful management of the team.

One must conclude that three years after the inaugural Scottish Championship, the quality of play amongst Scots golfers had improved from entries to the Ladies' British Open Championship prior to 1903. In 1908 in the British Championship held at St Andrews, although there were only 35 Scottish competitors (two less than in 1897) in the field representing 15 clubs, the two finalists Miss Maud Titterton and Miss Dorothy Campbell represented Scotland. This from a field of 148 was a remarkable achievement for Scotland. Miss Titterton, although born in England, was "claimed by Scotland" having residence in the country and being a member of Musselburgh.

3.7 The intervention of World War One

Both Issette Pearson and Agnes Grainger remained in control of the proceedings of the LGU and the SLGA respectively during the intervening war years. General Meetings of both associations did not take place between 1914 and 1918. No British Ladies' or Scottish Ladies' Championship meetings were held and during this time clubs which were associated to these associations were required to pay only half fees. Despite this some clubs were forced to resign their affiliation due to financial pressures as many club golfers were involved in war work of a voluntary nature and had less time to participate. Because of the War, golfers contributed their time and skills in other ways. Golf club members who were adept seamstresses were asked by Miss Katherine Stuart, the secretary and treasurer of the SLGA, to assist in making flannel gauntlets for the crew members of destroyers (*The Golfing Gentlewoman* September 25 1915)[27]. Members of clubs who continued to play monthly competitions were urged to contribute to the war effort by sending entry monies and other proceeds raised from their events to the Queen's "Work for Women" Fund. The fund, supported by *The Gentlewoman* magazine, was set up for charitable work among women who had suffered as a consequence of the War.

After hostilities ended, Miss Grainger, under the auspices of the SLGA, organised a Victory tournament for Scottish golfers in St Andrews in October 1919. This was an opportunity to resume play on a national competitive basis. The British Ladies' Open Championship due to resume at Burnham in 1919 had to be abandoned owing to a rail strike but recommenced in 1920.

3.8 Changes for the LGU and the SLGA in the 1920s

A restructuring of the LGU took place in the 1920s to reflect changes in the way the national associations were represented. A new constitution giving national or county representation on the Executive Council for every club was discussed at an Extraordinary General Meeting of the LGU held on July 10 1928 and plans approved for the changes (Cossey 1984:38). Councillors who represented the interests of Scotland, Ireland and Wales were to be elected by the

[27] Between 1914 and 1915, *The Gentlewoman* published a golfing supplement to keep golfers in clubs and associations informed of events and of how they could contribute to the war effort.

clubs who had affiliated to the three national associations with England's representatives being elected through the county organisations. Because the LGU had originated almost as an 'English' association, England had never seen the necessity of having a separate organisation. Of the forty-two councillors elected to the LGU, England was now represented by thirty-four. The SLGA was responsible for the election of the five Scottish representatives to serve on the LGU Executive Council and at their General Meeting in October 1928, approved a motion that all Scottish clubs affiliated to the LGU be admitted to the SLGA without entry fee (Minute SLGA General Meeting October 2 1928).

In the SLGA certain anomalies regarding the nationality issue of players were addressed in 1928. The qualification requirements for entry to the Scottish Championship which had come under debate at General Meetings in 1913 stated that the nationality of the father *or* three years' membership of a Scottish club should be the required criteria for entry. In 1928 it was proposed that competitors in the Scottish Championship should be judged on the nationality of either the father *or* the mother. After much debate, it was put to the vote and carried by 10 votes to 9 that the qualifications would be on the nationality of the father *or* twenty years of residence in Scotland, although the closeness of this vote suggests that there was almost as much support for a mother's lineage (Minute SLGA General Meeting October 2 1928)[28]. At the same meeting it was also proposed and agreed that in the future, competitors rather than the committee, would be allowed to vote for the choice of venue for the Scottish Championship. This was considered to be a more democratic way of making the decision.

3.9 Looking to the future

The foundation of the LGU and the SLGA owed much to the determination of strong minded women who wanted effective organisations which would act on behalf of golfers and the development of golf. As Joyce Wethered [29] observed, women have "an innate love for doing things thoroughly in matters of organisation and no less so in ladies' golf" (Wethered 1933:182). An authoritative voice was necessary in order that women golfers could be represented collectively in golf. It would be misleading, however, to assume that

[28] Eligibility in the early 1990s required that players must possess one of the following national qualifications - i. Birth in Scotland; ii. Scottish nationality of father, or of mother prior to marriage; iii. British nationality and five year's residence in Scotland (*Lady Golfer's Handbook* 1993).
[29] See references to Joyce Wethered in Chapters Four and Seven.

unanimity was always in evidence. In 1910, an argument ensued over whether or not to pay the expenses of players competing in county matches in England and a split occurred between some members of the LGU leading to the formation of a breakaway group, the National Alliance (Cossey 1984:83). The Alliance took over the organisation of the English Championship in 1912 for two years and when problems were eventually resolved the Alliance disbanded and re-united behind the LGU which reverted to organising the English Championship until 1951, when the English Ladies' Golf Association was formed.

That women were prepared to involve themselves in the administration of sport in the early 20th century indicates that while there were those who agitated on the political front for representation in winning the franchise, others were more concerned in getting recognition for their sex in sporting matters. As Park (1989:10) maintains, " ... sport provided women with a wider social space" but " ... owed nothing to the conscientious efforts on the part of feminists". At a time when women had little experience of administrative duties (apart from those associated with the running of a household), it could be argued that recognition for the LGU might have been more difficult to achieve without a determined self-confident individual like Issette Pearson, who remained in office until 1921. But it also could be argued that the LGU took time to be truly representative of themselves without the assistance of men. In 1908 the LGU acquired a female figurehead when HRH Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein became President, but it was not until 1925 that the LGU had a female as Chairman when Mrs Lewis Smith took charge. In establishing the fundamental structure of the Union, goals were set and objectives reached with the handicapping system one of the major achievements, which, with only a few minor alterations, continued to operate well into the 1990s.[30]

The Scottish Ladies' Golf Association fulfilled its purpose in promoting the game to women in Scotland and in organising an annual national Championship, due mainly to the initial efforts of Agnes Grainger. Cecil Leitch [31] recognised how much golf owed a debt to pioneering women, when she observed in an address to the SLGA that "the players of today should remember that the standard of the game has only been acquired by the efforts of the players of yesterday" (Dunlop-Hill 1930:44-5). But she also insisted that in order for the

[30] See Chapter Eight for update.
[31] See reference to Cecil Leitch in Chapter Seven.

game to develop in the future it should consider the interests of the young. It was imperative that girls and young women be introduced to golf from as early an age as possible. This is the subject of the following chapter.

Chapter Four

Golf For Girls

Having established how golf developed in an regulated manner through the national associations we should now consider how girls and young women were first introduced to the game. Research indicates that in the late 19th and early 20th century, girls were playing sport and recreational games primarily in the family and school circle. Playing golf while on holiday was often a good introduction to the game as many interviewees acknowledge. It was often during this time that parents had more time to spend with their families and putting or golf was something they could enjoy together as a family.

In addition we will consider how sport and exercise was introduced into the academic system in the 19th century and analyse the objectives behind the pioneering of physical education for girls and young women. With girls in independent schools having opportunities to experience physical activities as part of their education, one must enquire if the same applied to state schools. Although golf as an individual sport does not feature as much as do team sports in the curriculum of both types of schools, its appearance from time to time suggests that those with an interest in teaching and promoting it were devotees of the game who were able to give pupils the chance to develop an interest, learn the basic skills and compete with each other. Consideration is given to the role of sport and the introduction of golf in St Leonards School in St Andrews, George Watson's Ladies' College in Edinburgh as well as acknowledging opportunities for coaching and competition during the 1950s and 60s through the auspices of The Golf Foundation, Hazelmount Girls' Golf Club and in Boroughmuir Secondary School.

4.1 The Family

It is evident from written sources as well as interviews conducted with women golfers that girls whose parents were golfers had more likelihood of developing an interest in the game than those who had no golfing connections. Parents, especially fathers, were often considered as role models by their daughters. Other male family members such as brothers and uncles played a prominent part in encouraging girls into golf. Girls had a tendency to admire the sporting prowess of their fathers and brothers and wanted to emulate them. In order to illustrate this we should consider

the circumstances and opportunities which allowed girls and young women to become involved in the first place.

Although in aristocratic and affluent middle-class families in the late 19th century sport was predominantly the prerogative of men, women and girls did participate especially if they were encouraged to do so. As the only girl in her family, Lady Margaret Scott (b.1874) from Gloucestershire had plenty of encouragement to golf. She learned to play from a young age in the company of her father and her three brothers who were keen golfers and so was greatly influenced by them. Coming from an aristocratic background, Lady Margaret was fortunate in having unlimited access to the private golf course on her father's estate on which she was able to practise. Playing informally alongside men meant that she was able to observe and copy their technique and style and at the same time develop an appetite for competition. Rather than thwart her competitive desires, which other Victorian fathers might have done, Lord Eldon made no attempt to stop his daughter entering the British Ladies' Open Championship in 1893. Her instruction from him and the professional advice she received from Andrew Kirkaldy (sic) in St Andrews where the family spent their summer holidays in the 1890s were invaluable and she was successful in winning the Championship three years in succession (Mair 1992:15). Similarly, Alexa Glover (b.1887) from Fife was another girl who benefitted from watching and learning from her father and brother. She also learned to play as a young child in the 1890s round the links at Elie. Her development as a golfer was guided by the Elie professional, A. H. Scott and she became an accomplished competitor under his tutelage, winning, among other events, the first Scottish Championship in 1903.[1] Alexa was also fortunate enough to play regularly on the Continent as well as in England, often in the company of her father, a wealthy Edinburgh business man.[2]

Helen Nimmo (b.1906) from Falkirk, the second daughter of a family of seven, also came from a family of golfers. Her father, a lawyer and member of the R&A, was a keen golfer and used to teach her and offer her encouragement, as did her five brothers with whom she played prior to World War I. During August and September they "took a house ... when the competitions were on at the Royal and Ancient" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130). The putting green or a nine hole golf course at a seaside resort was often the starting point for many girls. The Children's Golf Club

[1] See Chapter Three.

[2] A Collection of press cuttings in the SLGA archive indicate the extent of Miss Glover's frequent trips to play at golf clubs in the south of France.

of St Andrews, founded in 1888, organised summer competitions for boys and girls and Helen at the age of seven won a putting competition for which she received a tiny cup, the 'Children's Putting Green Silver Cup'. Helen progressed from putting to golf without much effort or tuition. She regarded herself as a natural player who did not benefit too much from instruction. " ... my father used to teach me as well, but I didn't really have proper lessons, occasionally from Mr Duncan at Falkirk Tryst, but he wasn't very good either" (Helen Nimmo 1997.130). She probably learned more from playing with young people on holidays at Dornoch in Sutherland in the early 1920s. It was there along with other families from similar backgrounds that she first experienced competition from other girls as well as boys.

> "We went there every August and I was a member there ...we had our matches made up the moment we got there. We went to the Sutherland Arms at Dornoch as a family, we all went. It was great fun, but there were a lot of fairly good people in the big hotel, the Railway Hotel at one time at Dornoch and we used to make our matches up whenever we arrived for days ahead. One made up one's partners for competition matches and that sort of thing, male and female and you booked your time and this sort of thing and great fun" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Seaside locations such as Dornoch in Sutherland, Lossiemouth in Morayshire, St Andrews and North Berwick in East Lothian were often favoured holiday destinations of English as well as Scottish families. A golf course was usually within easy reach and families would often take houses for several weeks in the summer. According to Eleanor Helme, an English golfer and journalist who wrote about 'family golf' in the 1930s, "Children learned to play the game on holiday ... People who came to Lossiemouth were expected to be golfers and every house had a wooden stand for clubs in its hall" (1938:25). As Helme implies, the same families tended to go at the same time of year and they knew each other so there was no shortage of playing partners. Regular visitors became known in the community and contributed to the local economy by employing the services of local people. Helen Nimmo, coming from a wealthy background, could afford the services of a caddie and would probably not have considered it expensive.

> "Oh yes, we used to have caddies. But they were generally little boys especially up at Dornoch and we paid 2/6 to your caddie and they scrambled about and went into the most awful thick thorns to retrieve your ball with their bare feet. But they were very nice little boys, they came from Embo which is the little fishing village along the coast from Dornoch" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Like Helen, Joyce Wethered (b.1901) from Brock in Surrey acquired much of her golfing experience on seaside holidays in Dornoch and in Cornwall. Her first introduction to golf was as a child of eight or nine on holiday in Cornwall where she tagged along behind her father, mother and brother Roger almost unnoticed. "My brother Roger was the star of the family and as a small boy was very good ... when he came home from the war, he went up to Oxford and became Captain of the golf team. It was at this time I started playing more with him and joined in with his many friends. I was still not very good then" (Wethered 1922:164). Joyce had one desire and that was to play golf like grown-ups. She was convinced that children were natural mimics and would copy their elders. On the small course at Dornoch "reserved for the activities of beginners and younger enthusiasts", she was encouraged into competition by some of the lady members and " ... some benevolent ladies put up trophies of toffee and Edinburgh Rock to reward the winner under medal and bogey conditions' (Wethered 1922:171). While Roger was a "profound student of all the works in the golfing library", Joyce could never master the theories of the golf writers and her feeble first attempts frustrated Roger who uttered despairingly, "Oh Joyce, you will never play golf. You won't study the game" (Wethered 1922:164). In spite of her brother's misgivings Joyce developed into an accomplished golfer and in the 1920s won the English and British Champion ships.[3]

During the early 1930s, Marjorie Whitton (b.1924) from Edinburgh started to play golf as a youngster with her father when they went on holiday to North Berwick, St Andrews and Blair Atholl. He thought she showed promise and had no doubt that she would want to persevere. She admits being glad of the encouragement. "Yes, he always said I had a good swing ... I always had clubs ... I had little junior clubs" (Marjorie Whitton SA 1996. 53&54). North Berwick was a particularly good resort for families as it not only had golf courses and putting greens, but also a sandy beach and swimming pool and was easily accessible for Edinburgh families. Ethel Jack (b.1939) from Edinburgh also started to play while on holiday at the age of seven and it was her father also who introduced her to golf.

> "As a family we always used to go two weeks to Montrose for a holiday and two weeks to Edzell and you can imagine there is not a lot to do at Edzell and my father was always away off to the golf, so I thought I would just trail off along ... I decided, well I told my dad I would need

[3] See Chapter Seven.

> lessons, but I also had lessons from the blokes at Montrose and Edzell, the professionals there ..." (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

While Ethel Jack's father did not teach her but was very supportive and bought her a set of miniature clubs and a bag, Ethel was expected to feel she was making a contribution to the expense of getting lessons and paying entry fees to competitions.

> "I joined Prestonfield when I was twelve [1951] which wasn't yesterday and I've been there ever since ... Then as my father says my demands just got bigger and bigger and I wanted to go and play in championships and I wanted a bigger bag and I wanted this and that, so he forced me to be a paper girl, ride the grocer's bike and deliver messages. I did everything to try and get money 'cause he said "you are not getting it unless you do something yourself" and I think it was probably quite a good thing rather than getting it laid in your lap...he did most of it, but I had to contribute" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

If girls were fortunate to have a relative as a professional golfer then it was more than likely that they would have most opportunity to learn. Jessie Valentine (b.1915) from Perth had her father as her sporting role model. He was not only a professional golfer but was a distinguished competitor in other sports, having represented Scotland in bowls, curling and cricket. It was not surprising that he was keen to encourage his two daughters to participate in sport from an early age. Jessie was given her first club at the age of five by her father.[4] Jessie showed an aptitude for the game whereas her sister who was twelve years older did not.

> "I just liked it and of course father taught us and I don't know I just enjoyed the life I must say...Unknown to me he entered me for the British Girls' and it was down at Stoke Poges...I wasn't bad, I got to the semi-final the first year and won it the second year" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103).

With very few girls playing golf around Perth in the early 1920s, Jessie was left to her own devices and was able to play at Craigie Hill, where her father was employed as the club professional.

> "I don't think there were many girls playing golf then. I preferred practising anyway. I liked to practise. Maybe that's why I got a bit better" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103).

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[4] See Chapter Six.

Golf as Jessie indicates could be a rather lonely sport for girls as there were few others to compete with and sometimes even sisters had other interests. Tennis rather than golf was associated with girls. Helen Nimmo's sister was not as keen on golf as she was on tennis.

> "I think she must have played a little, but not very much. She wasn't keen about it but much more keen about tennis and of course we had two beautiful tennis courts and we played a lot of tennis. I played a lot of tennis in competitions and things later on. I don't think I ever won anything, but I was quite good" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Traditionally tennis was regarded as a sport which girls played, while golf was played by boys. It was not only girls from wealthy families who had the opportunity to play tennis and golf but girls from more modest backgrounds played as well. Alice Clark (b.1919) from Edinburgh came from a working-class background with little money to spare. However, a few sacrifices were made to help finance an interest in golf.

> "I had that little bit of golf in my last year at school, but I really was a tennis player and played along here in Eden Lane in what was known as the Martins bowling green and tennis courts, until about 1939, 1940 and as you know the war came and there was nobody playing tennis and of course I knew Jenny Mitchell, she had been at school with me and I had been at school with her and I was muttering about nobody to play tennis with and she said to me, 'well why don't you come up to the golf and we can get a 'penny tram' up and walk up', so I took about four or five clubs of my father's which were 'hickory's'.[5] He must have played golf, but that's something I haven't thought about and I went up to Merchants and of course I really pottered about with Jenny and eventually mother bought me a half set of golf clubs. I don't where she got them, but she bought them for me and that was 1943" (Alice Clark SA 1996.55).

Alice was sure that her mother would have liked to have played golf given the opportunity but she was too busy bringing up her family as well as working in domestic service at a private house in the south side of Edinburgh.

> "I was aware that when we went on holiday to Aberdeen and when we went to the pitch and putt, that she had quite a good eye so she could have been if she had been encouraged, but women in those days weren't encouraged to" (Alice Clark SA 1996.55).[6]

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[5] See Glossary.

[6] See Chapter Two for reference to attitudes to women in sport and later in this chapter.

As a domestic servant in the 1890s Alice's mother as well as having little time off would not have been earning enough to spend on golf. Her income was directed towards the upkeep of the family. Although Alice did not have formal lessons as a youngster she used to go with her brother to Lothianburn Golf Club copy his grip and pick up hints on technique from library books.

Girls whose parents were well off were in a more fortunate position. In the 1920s and 30s Helen Nimmo spent much of her time travelling to different places to indulge in sport. She played in tennis competitions as well as golf competitions in England as well as Scotland and her father was readily able to give financial assistance and pay her accommodation expenses when she went to various championships.

> "This is where we were all so lucky at that time, it was all so cheap, we could afford it ...When I went to Championships, my father used to stump up something like £60 and we got into Gleneagles and Turnberry, all the best hotels, for either 15/- a day all found or 17/6d a day all found; 17/6 was for tennis tournaments, but the 15/-was for the golf" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

What sounded "cheap" to Helen would have been a small fortune to others. She of course was in a privileged position and able to stay in the best of hotels and play with first class equipment with no worries about asking her father when she wanted to renew her clubs.

> "Well they became metal shafts. My father was always very generous to me and gave me what I wanted because he was keen on golf too, but he died during the war, just at the end of the war and my mother died a little bit before" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Helen Nimmo delighted in the challenge to play alongside men knowing that it would be more rewarding in improving her standard of golf. She also played with the relations of her friend, Margaret Walker.

> "We started very early playing golf and we used to bicycle to the Falkirk Tryst with our clubs on our back which was a very dangerous thing to do. We never came to any harm and I used to play a lot with sometimes the footballers from the Falkirk team ... they just happened to be playing on a Monday morning and had time off or something and they very often asked me to come in and play with them which was great fun because I had great difficulty in getting anyone when the boys were at school

> ...Well I much preferred playing with men, unless I could find somebody of the same type as myself ... I used to play with her [Margaret Walker's] uncle very often at Falkirk Tryst, Harper Orr. He had been a very good cricketer in his time and he also played golf and I very often joined him and the local minister to play a round. I had great difficulty in getting anyone to play with. I had to play with the men because the women were really all too bad to make a game of it and of course I played with my brothers. They were all right, but not first class. They hit the ball miles in all different directions" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

It is clear that Helen felt it beneficial to her game to play with men, especially the footballers who would have been keen competitors and were impressed enough by her standard of golf to invite her to join them. This suggests also that men at this club readily accepted the company of a women golfer and were not dismissive because she happened to be female.

While it might be natural to assume that sons should become interested in the sporting pursuits of their fathers, girls as we have argued were just as likely to follow suit. One particular girl, Catherine Purves (b.1941) from Dunbar, was not sure what sort of reaction she might receive when she took up what she refers to as "the old man's game". Her brothers played golf, but when she began to play at the age of thirteen his reaction surprised her.

> " ... to be honest, my father was a very old fashioned man, he wasn't the kind anybody would have expected to encourage a daughter to do very much and yet he encouraged me to play golf. He encouraged me to drive, when it wasn't really ... nobody else did. At the time I took it for granted, but now looking back, he wasn't the kind of man who would have lifted a finger in the house, I mean this was women's work, he wouldn't have cooked or cleaned or anything. He expected his meal on the table. And yet he encouraged me to play golf" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Perhaps because her mother had shown no interest in golf, playing tennis instead, her father had reason to encourage Catherine to play golf. Living in Dunbar, there were other sports available to divert girls away from an interest in golf such as the tennis club and the swimming club.

> "I was born in Dunbar and my father played off plus 1 at one point and that was really how I started. We stayed just almost on the golf course at East Links ... I was a tennis player when I was in the late primary school, beginning of the grammar school, and I used to torment my dad about the old man's game that he played and he said, "well, you're so smart, you

> come down and show us how it's done" and that was how I got hooked" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Although she tried to encourage her friends to play with her and would get them to try it for brief periods, their interest never lasted so she would often partner her father. Catherine did not always agree with his judgement about club selection, but knew better than to disagree with him. She respected him enough to follow his advice.

> "We would start off on the first tee perfectly amicably, but by the time we reached the first green we weren't speaking, because he would say to me, "this is a seven iron" and I would say "no dad it might be a seven iron for you, but it's a five iron for me". "Rubbish" [he would say], "take a seven iron" and I would say, "no I'll never get there" ... "Take a seven iron!" and I would be miles short of the green and he would say, "you did that deliberately didn't you?" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

It was hard to contradict a father who she respected as a good player when he played off such a low handicap, but he was probably not the best of instructors. At the age of fifteen she entered her first tournament at the Winterfield course in Dunbar and won the Lady Wingate trophy. Her handicap was reduced after this success.

> "I think that came down very quickly ... but then of course I got older and I had a few lessons actually from David Houston at Braid Hills ... yes I used to go up to Edinburgh because we didn't have a teaching professional at Dunbar, not then, so I went up there and he said I had the wrong attitude towards the game ... He said "when you hit a bad shot, you are not supposed to fall about laughing you are supposed to say, now why did I do that?"... Oh yes, I still don't take it seriously, I enjoy it, but it doesn't break my heart if I don't have a good score. I just like being out there. I like to play well, but I don't mind if I don't score well if you understand me" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Some mothers if they happened to be keen players themselves encouraged their daughters. Gillian Kirkwood (b.1949) from Eskbank has memories of going to the course with her mother when she was about seven and copying what she did just seemed the natural thing to do.

> "My mother was always keen on golf ... My father wasn't a particularly good golfer. My mother was club champion at Newbattle, but she was maybe a 10 handicap at best, sort of thing, but dead keen and she really got me enthused about it. I used to go out and play with her. I played at

> Newbattle to begin with because I lived in Eskbank" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

With a brother who was two years her junior, the family as a whole played a lot of golf. Gillian was fortunate in having a friend of the same age who was also keen and as well as being able to play on different courses with her mother, she joined a club of her own.

> "I had this other friend at school called Enid Blaikie, who lived in the next village to me in Bonnyrigg and I lived in Eskbank and she was a member at Broomieknowe, so I joined Broomieknowe, because in those days (mid 1950s) subscriptions were about a fiver and it hardly cost a thing ... because my mother was a member at Longniddry and Kilspindie. I was also a junior member at Kilspindie and Longniddry so I was actually [in] Newbattle, Broomieknowe, Kilspindie and Longniddry at one point and I can't say I played very often, but the subscriptions were very little. I played with my father at Kilspindie because he used to play on a Saturday morning and I would go down and play with him sometimes and my mother at Longniddry. Broomieknowe was really 'my' course because my parents weren't members of it" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

With so much opportunity to play either in the company of her parents or with a girl of the same age and standard, it would appear that Gillian was more fortunate than most. Her own enthusiasm for golf from the experience of these early years has been handed down to her own three daughters. She considered it inevitable that golf would be a feature of their family life and coming from a very competitive family it could hardly be avoided. All her girls started playing when they were fairly young and their first efforts were very much like her own with little or no formal instruction at first. In spite of the agonies of trying to get scores in for a handicap, the enjoyment of golf was in hitting the ball well.

> "It was purgatory to get them round the course. They would play a few holes and they would play a load of rubbish and suddenly they would have a three at a par 3 or a four at a par 4 or get on in two somewhere and just that little lift ... It's just the same when I play golf, there is always something that brings you back, some shot that you hit really well on that particular round, and you think "that's the one" and I think they enjoy hitting the ball and I think that's the secret. You have got to enjoy just trying to get the ball into the hole" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

Families who golf all seem to want to share a sense of enjoyment in the game and if this can be handed down to the next generation are delighted when they see the pleasure it can bring. Jessie Valentine takes pride that her enthusiasm and expertise in the game has been handed on to her son and now her grandchildren.

> "All my family play. Jill, my daughter-in-law, has taken it up and the three children all play. One has just started university in London and he's got a 9 handicap and James is 20 I think and I don't know what Catherine's got, but they are all good and they come up here and they think I can play golf every day with them and they call me Babby and I keep saying, "but Babby's old", but "no, no, you're not old!" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103).

The role that a family plays is a crucial factor in determining an interest in golf in the first place. As indicated in these interviews with Jessie Valentine, Ethel Jack, Helen Nimmo and Catherine Purves, evidence points to fathers being the major influence in encouraging them initially into play golf while for Gillian Kirkwood it was her mother to whom she looked as a role model and for Alice Clark, her brother. These family members have played as significant part in sharing their experience and giving their daughters and sisters an initial interest in golf. However Gillian Kirkwood is aware that some parents can negate the initial enthusiasm if they try and push their children too much and this can sometimes turn them away from the game. As Chairman of the Girls' Committee on the SLGA, she had been considering different ways to get girls started in golf. One initiative of Stirling and Clackmannan County Golf Association has been to take a group of girls to a driving range and give them a day out playing target golf and other fun competitions "...and no parents are allowed, so they get away from the doting mother/father thing as well which can get in the road, these doting parents" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08). This appears to have been successful as parents can sometimes put too much pressure on their offspring to perform on demand so being supervised in a group with other girls has been a different experience and has been quite fun for the girls. From the feedback from the girls, Gillian feels that "... the girls are enthusiastic about that kind of tuition, as opposed to standing in a draughty practice ground with a pro and just being in a line" (SA 1998.01).

Jessie Valentine recognises that there are other diversions for girls and "not many girls take it up because if their boyfriends don't play golf, they won't play golf." (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103). But she is of the opinion that girls will play if they

see the social benefits and are encouraged by their families. Mickey Walker, the head professional at the Warren Club in Maldon, Essex considers that there are problems getting girls motivated to play and boys have a different attitude to golf. She considers that "girls will only tend to play if their parents play. Boys, in contrast, will play if their friends play" (*Lady Golfer* October 1997:53).

It would appear from the evidence of those informants that the family circle is an important area for introducing girls into golf and fathers especially in the 20th century have generally given encouragement to their daughters to participate in golf. Consequently parents are the more likely role models for girls rather than their peers.

For those who developed an interest in golf outside the family circle and while at school there were opportunities for some if teachers were keen enough to show an interest and if it was included in the sporting curriculum. In order to establish how girls' golf developed over the 20th century it is necessary first of all to discuss the way in which sport and physical education in general was introduced to girls in schools in the last quarter of the 19th century.

4.2 Introducing sport to girls through the educational system

In the 19th century, opinions were divided on the benefits of introducing sport, the type of sports which could be played by girls and the manner in which they should be played. One argument was that for some women moderate and supervised forms of exercise would be beneficial to their health and well being. In the early 19th century, Donald Walker, a defender of physical training for women, recommended "light callisthenics", short walks and "smooth dancing" as all that women needed in the way of exercise to improve their health. His book, *Physical Exercises for Ladies* written in 1836, was intended to be an "authoritative guide to regular activity" although he was careful to advocate moderation in exercise (Quoted from McCrone 1988:9). In an earlier work he identified golf as a 'manly' game, along with other sports and not something suitable for girls.[7] From this it would appear that girls were not encouraged to participate in golf before the 1830s. Because of the restrictive elements of the Victorian code of behaviour, girls had few opportunities to become involved in sport during the early 19th century.

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[7] See D Walker (1834) *British Manly Exercises* (London).

The introduction of sports into the educational curriculum for girls in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a gradual process. There was concern regarding the effect physical exercise might have not only on girls themselves, but on the way society might view them. Some saw playing sport as a threat to womanliness. Other writers argued for a balance of attitude. The physiologist and comparative psychologist George J Romanes advocated greater opportunities for women to pursue higher education which would include graceful exercise as "conducive to good spirits" and as "a protector and improver of maternal capacities" (Quoted from *The Nineteenth Century* 1879:401-24). However an excess of games and exercise was to be avoided in his opinion. Herbert Spencer in a series of *Essays on Education* (1859) reasoned that physical play among girls in schools should not prevent them becoming "ladies" as sporting behaviour amongst boys did not prevent them from growing into "gentlemen". He was motivated by the desire to see England produce women who might be healthy mothers, rather than being someone who wished to see an extension of women's rights (Quoted from McCrone 1988:10).

Girls were specifically discouraged from playing sport in an energetic manner and they were constantly warned that if they over-exerted themselves physically they might damage their reproductive organs and make themselves less attractive to men, thus decreasing their chances of making a good match. The sight of girls rushing around a hockey pitch working up a sweat did not present an acceptable image of femininity. However a small group of women in the physical education movement were pioneering the development of sporting skills in the public school system and in the new colleges of physical education. The growth of organised games into the cult of "athleticism", characteristic in boys' public schools, did not lead to sport being given equivalent status in establishments for girls. Pioneers in physical education gave a commanding but at the same time careful lead in the development of a girl's sporting potential in school and college. These advocates of "physical education and feminism" as McCrone (1988:120) observes, had "a strong desire to elevate and emancipate their sex". This resulted in women's colleges being established at Oxford and Cambridge in the 1860s. It was in these establishments that not only were women's intellectual capacities nurtured and challenged, but they were also able to develop themselves physically through taking part in sport and exercise with encouragement from pioneering reforming educators. The educators in these establishments argued that physical fitness was "an important corollary of academic success" (McCrone 1988:24). At Girton College, Cambridge, by 1873 free time was given in the afternoons for physical recreation and exercise. The sports available at

Girton to women during the next decade were rackets, croquet, badminton, gymnastics, lawn tennis and fives. The version of fives played by girls was similar to that played by pupils at Eton.[8] As the game required physical hardness in both hands it might have been considered by some an unsuitable game for women. Helen Nimmo, a pupil at St Leonards School between 1919 and 1924, considered that fives was "very bad for the hands" but played it nonetheless (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130). Unsuitable it might have been, but young women away from home living amongst their peers in a school or college environment had more freedom to choose how they wanted to spend their free time when not under the supervisory eye of their parents.

The Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford from 1879 to 1909, Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth, encouraged outdoor games but did not allow sport to dominate the lives of her students. Two hours each afternoon were set aside for recreation and exercise. She was conscious of the results of over-exertion and the dangers of "athleticism becoming a cult".

> "It is no secret among medical men that many of our young women have already fallen victim to the overstrain which an eager nature, acted upon by that *esprit de corps* which is so strong in school and college girls, has often led them to undergo in playing, when a sensible mother would have insisted on their declining to do so" (Wordsworth 1894:12).

Although their participation in sport was principally for fun, young women were not allowed to forget that taking part in sport and other forms of exercise was a means of improving and maintaining health in order to help them cope with the stresses and strains of higher learning. As maintained by Hargreaves (1994:61) "The development of physical education was an integral aspect of this process - it represented an advance for women and was at the same time an activity which incorporated conservative ideas about discipline, high moral standards and 'ladylike' behaviour". Physical education was the first introduction for many girls and young women to bodily exercise.

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[8] Eton fives was a handball game played by pairs in a three walled court, the idea being to hit a ball against a wall with the hand. A game consisted of twelve points and matches were generally the best of five games, hence the name. Fives existed from very early days and may have derived from pelota, the early Basque wall game played with the hand (Wingfield 1988:169-170).

4.3 Physical education

The training of women in physical education in Britain was pursued under the Swedish system which stressed style and precision and the harmonious development of the whole body. It was known as 'Ling' after its creator, Per Henrik Ling, who had developed his teaching methods in the early 19th century at the Royal Gymnastics Central Institute in Sweden. Exercises designed to "cultivate all parts of the body ... by gradually progressing from simple and gentle movements to more difficult and complicated ones" were part of the emphasis of his teaching (Quoted from McCrone 1988:101-2) His son Hjalmar Ling was responsible for introducing the subject into elementary schools as well as girls' schools (MacLean1976:3). Dancing, callisthenics and Swedish drill as well as games were part of the physical education programme in girls' schools in Britain.

However, it was Martina Bergman-Osterberg, another Swede, who was to be the catalyst in generating public interest in the physical education of women and who insisted that physical exercise for women was necessary for healthy growth. She was appointed as Superintendent of Physical Education in Girls' Schools in 1881 and organised courses in gymnastics, anatomy and physiology for female teachers in board schools. In 1885 she opened a gymnasium in Hampstead, providing a specialist course in teaching the theory and practice of physical education to women "of the middle ranks" whom she believed would find employment in teacher training colleges, girls' public schools and university colleges (McCrone 1988:105). She believed that physical education could be a respectable career for middle-class women and was careful in her choice of potential students at a residential physical training college which she established in Dartford in1895.

As an authoritarian principal, Madame Bergman-Osterberg did not tolerate slackness or weakness in her students and wanted to produce highly skilled, disciplined women as future teachers of physical education. Although often dictatorial in her attitude to her students, her pioneering role in the introduction of physical education was to have far reaching effects on those students who trained as teachers. Their role became important in the promotion of physical education in the type of schools which favoured sport as part of the curriculum for girls.

Plans were drawn up to establish a Scottish college of hygiene and physical training which was funded by the Carnegie Trust in Dunfermline. Dunfermline College,

which opened in 1905, provided a national training ground for specially qualified female teachers with many of the students between 1905 and 1914 coming from professional and farming families (MacLean 1976:50). Madame Osterberg helped train the staff who came to Dunfermline to establish the national college. The Carnegie Trust had already made provision for swimming baths with a gymnasium in 1904. As 'Chief Lady Gymnastic Instructor' (Schools) with a salary of £150 per annum, Flora Ogston of Aberdeen was appointed to instruct Swedish exercises and other recreative activities organised for girls (MacLean 1976:31). Along with her assistants, they conducted lessons in physical education with pupils in the board schools of Dunfermline where the aim was to "encourage good physical development in the children and to introduce scientific methods of physical culture in the schools" (Maclean 1976:34).

Miss Ethel Adair Roberts, who succeeded Miss Ogston as principal in 1906, was concerned that her students should "develop poise and dignity" in keeping with "the social mores of the times" when women were expected to "retain a flavour of Edwardian gentility and decorum" (MacLean 1976:51). The training received in college at this time was very medically based with emphasis placed on theoretical courses in human anatomy, physiology, diet and hygiene. Practical courses included gymnastics, games, dancing and swimming. Pursuing a career in physical education for a young middle-class woman just before the First World War could meet with critical disapproval. Ruby Mackenzie (b.1895) of Penicuik, a pupil at an independent girls' school in Edinburgh, attended Dunfermline College and was rather 'looked down on' by her school friends for going to a physical education college. It was considered rather inappropriate as Ruby's family were well enough off for her to have pursued a more leisurely lifestyle. They spent summer holidays at North Berwick where the family would take 'rooms with attendants' and Ruby was able to have golf lessons with Ben Sayers, the professional. After qualifying as a physical education teacher, Ruby experienced difficulty in finding employment but returned later to Dunfermline College as a member of staff in 1923 where she was an instructor in games and Greek dancing until 1927 when she left to get married.[9]

4.4 Introducing sport in independent schools in England

It was through the public school network that girls from the upper levels of society were introduced to sport. Some of the girls' public schools copied many of the same

[9] Information from Joan Henderson about her mother, Ruby Mackenzie, April 28 2000.

features of curricula and organisation of the boys' public schools, but were careful not to create a desire for sports competition. Miss Dorothea Beale (b.1831) from London had finished her formal education at Queen's College in the 1840s and while not rejecting the curriculum of private ladies' academies, she advocated an intellectual training through a more academic approach to subjects. As principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College in 1858, she "set out to furnish girls with a sound and balanced religious, intellectual and physical training in a way that would magnify their femininity" (McCrone 1988:81). The task of educators such as Dorothea Beale was to develop to "the highest perfection" all the powers of the child, including physical powers. Although deploring the competitive element in sport which she regarded as "productive of too great a desire for success", she was protective of her pupils and "anxious that girls should not over exert themselves, or become absorbed in athletic rivalries", with the result that they did not compete against other schools (*Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine* Spring 1895:182).

On the other hand, Penelope Lawrence, the joint principal of Roedean School in 1885, considered that "games provided the discipline" to do academic work, and they also "taught fortitude, persistence, self-control and judgement" especially team games like hockey and cricket. Girls who applied these principles to games usually "applied the same qualities to their scholastic endeavours" (McCrone 1988:80). These activities if taken up gradually helped to increase physical strength and mobility, but it should be remembered that these girls' schools, while intended for educating thinking and socially useful women, still adhered to the traditional view of women as domestic creatures, albeit fitter, but ultimately destined for the role of motherhood.

The pioneering reformers, while taking the credit for introducing sport and games into the curriculum and encouraging girls to participate, sought to avoid physical activity which demanded energetic participation. They had to tread a fine line between games and "appropriate" feminine behaviour. While being responsible for making sports acceptable as an activity for adolescent girls, they were aware that team games should not be seen as encouraging boisterous or unfeminine behaviour. Young women were encouraged to play new sports like hockey, lacrosse and netball, but "under conditions that minimised threats to femininity" which included a time limit on play (McCrone 1988:92). The character-building aspects and psychological benefits of team sports were not emphasised at girls' public schools and inter-school competitiveness did not feature to the same degree as it did in the boys' public

schools. As Hargreaves (1987:131) argues, "behaving like a lady" meant adopting the bourgeois values associated with being female. The identification of vigorous physical activity with masculine behaviour was not acceptable or tolerated and while benefiting from the positive perceptions associated with physical activities, girls who took part were warned not to be loud, aggressive or clumsy or display mannish characteristics. Girls who engaged in games or sports in this manner were assumed to be behaving like boys, in displaying these characteristics associated with masculinity and this did not equate with the Victorian concept of femininity.

4.5 Introducing sport in Scottish independent schools

In Great Britain there were approximately 40,000 girls in over 200 public secondary schools by 1900, 70 per cent of whom were in boarding schools. This represented less than one third of the total receiving secondary education (McCrone 1988:98). Girls who were educated in this system were more likely to be given the opportunity and encouragement to participate in games and sports. For them the transition from light exercise to real physical education and competitive games, although a gradual one, became significant if the mistresses who taught in the schools had themselves been trained in physical education. St Leonards School in St Andrews and George Watson's Ladies' College in Edinburgh provide an illustration of how sport developed for girls in the independent sector in Scotland where the opportunity for sport played an important part in the lives of pupils.

4.5.1 St Leonards School, St Andrews 1877 - 1939

'The St Andrews School for Girls' was established in 1877 with 50 girls. As a public school with boarders and day girls, modelled on the boys' public schools, it subscribed to a view that sport be given a degree of importance in the school curriculum. This was evident with a succession of remarkable headmistresses who, because of their own educational experience, left their mark on the school in many ways.[10]

The first headmistress, Miss Louisa Lumsden, a former classics mistress at Cheltenham College, came from an old and distinguished Aberdeenshire family and

[10] Many of the references relating to St Leonards are contained in D Beale et al (1898); S.A.Burstall (1907); J M Grant, K McCutcheon & E F Sanders (1927); L. Lumsden (1933) and K McCrone (1988) pp.59-99. See Bibliography.

held high ideals of girls obtaining a proper education. Miss Lumsden did much to promote the name of the school with the development of classics, mathematics, physical training and organised games. As one of the first students at Hitchen College, Hertfordshire in 1869, where students were encouraged to play croquet, fives and a crude form of cricket in the seclusion of the college garden, she maintained that games were important as they taught "lessons in self control, good temper, love of fair play and service not for praise or gain" (Grant et al 1927:151)

Her desire for the physical development of her pupils emerged as an ethos of the St Andrews school with every girl taking part in some sort of sporting activity however modestly. Exercise for the girls in the early days consisted of drill and gymnastics. In 1881, when the school re-located to more substantial buildings and extensive grounds in the area known as St Leonards, the school was re-named St Leonards School and a games club developed with a set of rules and regulations. Among the sports then played were rounders and goals[11] in the winter, cricket, tennis and bathing in the summer (Grant et al 1927:80).

At St Leonards, the house system of the boys' public schools was adopted and this was an important focus for competitiveness in school life. The seven houses were headed by house mistresses and the houses competed against each other in sport. In 1888, the staff presented the school with a challenge shield for competitions in gymnastics, cricket and goals which added greatly to the competitiveness between the houses.

Miss Lumsden resigned in 1882 due to ill health. She was not only a remarkable headmistress but a life-long supporter of the women's suffrage movement becoming actively involved in the constitutional movement from 1908 onwards (Leneman 1991:263). Her successor, Miss Frances Dove, developed further the ideals of Miss Lumsden. Miss Dove, a product of Girton College, introduced the game of fives as well as riding to the sporting curriculum at St Leonards. Lacrosse was another innovation in 1890, this school being the first girls' school to play the game (McCrone 1988:72). The *St Leonards School Gazette* reported that " ... the new game LaCrosse (sic) which has taken the place of Goals for this term, is being carried on with vigour" (1890:115).

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[11] Goals was an early form of hockey played with a stick which was a cross between a heavy walking stick and a shepherd's crook, with rules and procedure interpreted very loosely.

In 1891 a fully equipped gymnasium was opened and a Swede, Esther Ida Carolina Schermanson, was appointed as gymnastic mistress. Swedish drill was made compulsory for the girls. With sport becoming increasingly important Miss Josephine Stewart was appointed as an additional games mistress in 1893. A pupil of Madame Bergman-Osterberg at Hampstead, she was also a former pupil of St Leonards. As Miss Stewart was a golfer and a member of the St Andrews Ladies' Golf Club, golf became important in the school at this time. In the same year she became a member of staff, Tom Morris, the professional at the Old Course of St Andrews, was asked to lay out a nine hole course in the grounds of the school (Tulloch 1907:246). The enthusiasm of teachers could be the key factor in the development of a particular sport. Her interest in golf obviously made an impact on the girls as "over 100" competed in the first school golf competition in June 1893. This accounts for more than half the pupils, there being 200 on the school roll by 1890. The *Gazette* reported that a prize had been presented by a member of staff, Miss Jackson, and on this occasion was won by M Bethune (*St Leonards School Gazette* February 1894:156). Having their own course in the grounds raised the profile of golf. Extensions and developments to the school course were reported over the year in the *Gazette*.

> "The course now includes two walls and although the greens are at present somewhat rough, we hope to see them improved shortly" (*St Leonards School Gazette* June 1894:112).

Girls would have had little opportunity to play golf in St Andrews until their own course had been constructed. Prior to 1895, the Old Course and the ladies' course ('the Himalayas') were the only existing golf courses in St Andrews until the New Course opened in 1895 closely followed by the Jubilee Course in 1897.

As there appeared to be an enthusiasm at this time for the game, the school was presented with two golf medals by Miss Wordsworth and Miss Abernethy which were competed for in competitions held in the spring and autumn. The winners were able to hold the medals for a year, as well as receiving duplicates to keep. A cup for fives, golf and tennis was also given by the house mistresses in 1895 for inter-house competition (Grant et al 1927:90). When Miss Dove left in 1895 to become principal of Wycombe Abbey School in Buckinghamshire, a school with a similar curriculum, Miss Julia Grant, who had been one of St Leonards' first pupils and had returned to the school in 1891 as a mistress was appointed headmistress. By 1896, the school

prospectus indicated the emphasis placed on sport as conducive to the physical well-being of the girls.

> "Plenty of time for open air exercises is given and the use of the extensive playground is encouraged. This consists of about 16 acres and comprises a cricket field, golf course, lawn and gravel tennis courts, fives court ..." (St Leonards School Prospectus, December 1896)

By 1902, 255 girls were organised in seven houses and improvements had been made to the buildings and the grounds (Grant et al 1927:85). Miss Elizabeth Bushnell, a former pupil and now custodian of the School Museum, indicated that the area used within the school grounds for the golf course was needed to provide more space for playing fields and therefore the course was abandoned. This resulted in the initial enthusiasm for golf appearing to wane at the turn of the century as the Autumn golf medal was reported as having been cancelled through lack of interest. However with the construction of the 12 hole Jubilee Course on the St Andrews links in 1897 and its extension to 18 holes in 1905, interest in golf was renewed and this medal competition revived when the event took place there. The *Gazette* reported that " ... having lapsed for some time owing to lack of competitors, it was pleasing to find that interest had revived sufficiently to justify the medal being played on November 5th on the Jubilee Course" (*St Leonards School Gazette* (March 1905). According to a colleague of Miss Bushnell who had been at St Leonards prior to the First World War, the public courses at St Andrews were better than the school course and golf was free for St Andrews residents including St Leonards girls, which suggests that golf could be played outside school hours and did not necessarily have to be included in the curriculum.[12] Although golf was always a minority sport at St Leonards, Miss Bushnell recalls that girls played most of the time when she was at school in the 1930s, "with some lapses perhaps in war time and perhaps when the staff were not keen".[13] The sporting interests of the staff and their enthusiasm in devoting time to instruct or encourage was an important factor in maintaining interest. Helen Nimmo recollects her involvement in a variety of sports at school.

> "I went to St Leonards at St Andrews, really so that my father could come over and play at St Andrews too and I was there for five years and we didn't play much golf, but we did play a little. We could only have had time for about four holes on the Eden Course, but I played all the other games successfully at school ... I played hockey and I played lacrosse, I

[12] Information from Elizabeth Bushnell, St Andrews February 1996.
[13] Ibid.

> played cricket, tennis, squash, no not squash, fives ... boys play it and of course my brothers were all there [in St Andrews] during the holidays and we played a lot of golf just amongst ourselves really" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Being involved in team games to this extent gave less time for golf at school. Her enthusiasm for and competitiveness in sport resulted in her representing the school at cricket and at golf. In 1924 she was awarded 'colours' for cricket as well as golf 'Colours' or 'blues' as they were sometimes known were given as an award to those girls who were outstanding in sport based on a principle established at Oxford and Cambridge in 1891.[14] On leaving school, Helen Nimmo pursued her interest in golf joining Falkirk Tryst Golf Club and the St Rule Club in St Andrews, becoming a highly competitive player between 1920s and the 1940s and representing Scotland on several occasions.[15] With the exception of a few outstanding individuals golfers, this school could not claim to have given golf the highest of profiles. Nevertheless, it was available at different times throughout the 20th century. More recently golf has had a renaissance in the school due to the enthusiasm of the Physical Education teacher and girls are again participating.[16]

4.5.2 George Watson's Ladies' College Edinburgh 1871 - 1950

The Merchant Company, a pioneering corporation in modern insurance and educational advance, established George Watson's Ladies' College in Edinburgh in Melville House, George Square in 1871 with a roll of 500 girls. The first head of the school, Alexander Thomson, was followed by successive female heads who considered that sport was as an important part of its curriculum (*The George Square Chronicle* 1920:52). Interestingly, comparisons can be drawn with St Leonards concerning the sporting activities of each school. George Watson's Ladies' College stressed the development of the individual both physically as well as mentally as did St Leonards. Like St Leonards the emphasis in the early days was on regimented exercise. There were no organised games as such, but drill was conducted by Sergeant Donnelly, as well as dancing and exercises. In the 1890s greater importance was placed on physical fitness and the school made provision for a purpose-built

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[14] In 1890, Lilian Faithful, a distinguished Old Somervillian, recommended that special badges be awarded to those who competed for Oxford and Cambridge in the inter-university tennis match. The system of giving 'colours' was adopted at the four women's colleges in 1891, hence the expression 'lady blue' signifying that a woman had received her 'blue' (McCrone 1988:44).

[15] See Chapter Six.

[16] See Chapter Eight.

gymnasium measuring 1400 feet and fitted out with the latest equipment. Regimented drill under male supervision gave way to 'exercise', gymnastics and dancing under female supervision when Miss Logan was appointed as an assistant games mistress in the 1890s (*The George Square Chronicle* 1910:62).

Outdoor exercise too was encouraged and the acquisition of Falconhall playing fields in 1893 provided an area for playing tennis, hockey, netball, rounders as well as golf. Coincidentally, this was the same year that St Leonards provided their pupils with a golf course. This indicates that team games were not the only focus for outdoor activity. As with St Leonards, the establishment of a house system was seen as important for developing inter-house competitiveness. Hockey and tennis clubs were formed with girls representing their houses. As at St Leonards, a trophy donated by the Former Pupils' Club in 1919 was awarded to the winners of the inter-house competitions (*The George Square Chronicle* 1920:74). Sporting events and the importance of sport to George Watson's is documented in the school magazine, *The George Square Chronicle*, introduced in 1910. Similar to the *St Leonards School Gazette,* its purpose was to circulate news of general interest and provide a record of the various activities of the school to pupils and former pupils alike. The first issue of the *Chronicle* in December 1910 claimed success for the hockey team, tennis team and the sports day. Sports days were regarded as of no benefit to the physical training or health of girls and an "imitation of the way of boys' schools" (Burstall 1907:92), but important at George Watson's where girls were encouraged to participate.

Like St Leonards, emphasis was on the team game with hockey and netball the most popular games. Although golf had been allocated an area of space for practice at Falconhall playing fields, the game was not played by girls in any great numbers in the early part of the 20th century, but there were always the few who were interested in learning. It was during the 1920s when pupils played on the public golf course at the Braid Hills that golf began to become popular with the girls. Throughout the 1920s, regular articles appeared in *The Chronicle* referring to golf outings on the Braids. The difficulties encountered in playing the game on this course could prove a frustrating experience for those who were beginners. The undulating nature of the turf, causing balls to be caught up or lost in the gorse bushes, made speedy play an impracticality and girls could lose interest. However, as *The Chronicle* indicates, by the 1930s there were enough girls and staff playing golf to warrant a pupils versus staff match. This became a regular event between 1933 and 1939, taking place first on Craigmillar Park Golf Course. Craigmillar Park had no restrictions on playing

times for women and was a convenient venue being close to George Square. The following year on the invitation of one of the male teachers, Mr Boyd, the golf match took place at Luffness in East Lothian. One of the girls reported, "Luffness Golf Course is not open to women, we realised what a privilege we had in being able to play over this delightful course ..." (*The George Square Chronicle* 1934:101). As he was a member the girls were invited to tea in the clubhouse and given special dispensation to play. The girls were aware that restrictions were imposed on women at several Edinburgh clubs where women were not regarded as full members but as "associates".[17]

For some girls interest in sport continued after leaving school through the membership of the former pupils' association. Not only were the 1930s a time when girls in school appeared to be interested in golf, but the former pupils started their own golf club, the Women Watsonian Golf Club in 1930 (*The George Square Chronicle*1931:27). With opportunities to meet at outings and play in competitions, golf was a sociable way for former pupils to maintain school contacts. The Women Watsonian Golf Club held regular competitions during the year in Edinburgh as well as in East Lothian. One of the matches played at Craigmillar Park was against the other former pupil associations of the Merchant Company schools which included their sister school, the Merchant Maidens. Doreen Smith (c.1932), formerly head of Physical Education, clarified the link with the Merchant Maidens.

> "That's Mary Erskine F.Ps...We [the Women Watsonians] have an annual match with the Mary Erskine F.P. Golf Club, the 'Gilbert Archer', which is great fun ... It is a joint team of the Watsonian and Women Watsonians who play Stewarts/Melville and Mary Erskine, mixed foursomes, six couples from each, followed by a nice meal and a social evening ... The 'Gilbert Archer' is long established" (Doreen Smith SA 1998.02).

Gilbert Archer, a former pupil, presented a trophy for this in 1930 and it became a mixed event. According to Joan Henderson (b.1933), a pupil at George Watson's in the 1940s, the old school rivalry was very strong and was evident in these matches on the course and off. She considered that it was a great social as well as sporting event and recalls that " ... we dressed up - you always had a change of clothes and we 'boozed'! It was a great night out".[18] This was a characteristic feature at other clubs

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[17] This is discussed more fully in Chapter Five.
[18] Information from Joan Henderson , April 28 2000.

too where the golf matches was followed by a sociable evening with after-dinner speeches.

4.5.3 Golf at George Watson's Ladies' College 1940 - 1960

During war time, due to the shortage of teachers and the requisitioning of land, sport had to be limited to hockey in the winter and tennis in the summer. The popularity of tennis especially for girls at this time was emphasised by Doreen Smith.

> "Well of course the girls go into tennis, there's no doubt about it, it doesn't last but they all want to play tennis ... and it's been going on especially in a place like Edinburgh where you have got these bastions of - Colinton Tennis Club ... Well I don't know what it is exactly but as you say it lingers on, the sort of background thing ... Having said that, I wasn't in the slightest bit interested in golf in my early twenties" (Doreen Smith SA 1998.02).

It would appear that during their schooldays girls played more tennis than golf but began turning to golf in greater numbers when they left.[19] Mrs Brodie Hall, a former pupil and enthusiastic hockey player during her time at school in the 1920s, had taken up golf on leaving school but wanted to encourage girls to develop their interest while still at school. She presented a silver salver to the school in 1950 known as the 'Brodie Hall'. This developed into an annual competition but was not always the important event it might have been. The school felt obliged to honour the wishes of the donor but Doreen Smith was of the opinion that if you did not have competent golfers, the 'Brodie Hall' could be a non-event.

> "We had the golf competition [the 'Brodie Hall']. At one time we used the Braids, and Prestonfield for a while and one of us would go out with them. If none of them were natural golfers, some years was a bit of a farce. It was just the girls who played for this" (Doreen Smith 1998.02).

This point is repeated by Linda Caine (b.1967) a former pupil who considered that "it was a bit of a joke as to who would win if there were no real golfers".[20]

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[19] See reference below to the Women Watsonian Golf Club, the former pupils' association.

[20] Information from Linda Caine a Midlothian County player, May 20 1998. In her time at school in the 1970s, the standard of golf among her peers was inferior to her own and she won the trophy regularly.

4.5.4 The Golf Foundation

However, in the 1950s, some of the Watson's girls were to benefit from a scheme run by The Golf Foundation which began a national campaign in 1952 to involve more young people in golf. The purpose of The Foundation was to introduce young people to the golf and give them a solid grounding in the fundamentals of the game. Henry Cotton, the well-known professional golfer and founder member, visited schools giving lessons and demonstrations.[21] The objectives of The Golf Foundation were -

> "To organise or provide or assist in the organisation or provision of facilities for golf and other forms of physical recreation for students of schools and universities and other places of higher education in any part of the British Isles so as to ensure that due attention is given to the physical education and development of such students".[22]

Coaching schemes were established throughout the country and George Watson's was one of the schools which applied for funding. "Golf is a comparatively new game to the school" wrote one of the girls in the *Chronicle*. This perception is interesting as although golf had appeared intermittently as part of the sporting curriculum, The Golf Foundation scheme appeared to increase its status. However the scheme was not an unqualified success as those who expressed interest were relatively small in number. In 1954, fourteen of the older girls and the following year a further four had instruction from David Houston, the professional at the Braid Hills (*The George Square Chronicle*1954:123). Surprisingly, although it was offered to some of the younger girls in fourth year, only eighteen decided to take advantage of the scheme (*The George Square Chronicle* 1955:124). This might explain why in 1959 there were only a few players who thought themselves competent enough to accept an invitation to play with the Women Watsonians at one of their outings. For girls to achieve competency they had not only to practise what had been taught in the coaching sessions, but to play regularly with each other as well.

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[21] Cotton, who became a professional in 1924, was not only the winner of the 'Open' in 1934, 1937 and 1948, but also a consistent winner of European 'Opens' in the 1930s and 40s.

[22] Constitution of The Golf Foundation. Clause 3(A) of the Memorandum of Association (1952).

4.6 Hazelmount Girls' Golf Club

It was due to the initiative of Nora Scott, the secretary of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club in the 1950s, that girls who were interested in golf were able to develop their skills and play more regularly on different courses in Edinburgh. According to her daughter Margaret Sneddon, "she phoned around all the clubs and all those golfers she knew with daughters who might be interested and arranged a meeting in the house".[23] Hazlemount Girls' Golf Club was duly formed and the girls who joined were mostly from Edinburgh schools. Along with Nora's daughter Margaret, Ethel Jack from Prestonfield was one of the original members.

> "Margaret Scott's mother started the Hazelmount girls and she got hold of us all [in the 1950s] and we got coaching through the Hazelmount girls and we all went round the Merchants and Craigmillar Park and any course she could get to give us some time. I remember leaving Duddingston on the 42 bus and going into town and taking another bus up the Mound to get to Craigmillar or the Merchants, or wherever we were going ... I got keen" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

With the establishment of Hazlemount, girls had the opportunity to play with each other and get to know others who played. Nora Scott enlisted help from interested clubs to provide coaching with the professionals at the clubs.

4.6.1 Developments in the 1960s

In the 1960s Gillian Kirkwood, a pupil at George Watson's Ladies' took on the duty of being secretary of Hazelmount.

> "... I remember the Hazelmount records and if you look back it was all done in really neat handwriting and Ethel was probably secretary and captain and so was Joan Marshall ... Joan Henderson and Ursula Burnett a whole lot of familiar names that were older than me ... But as secretary it was up to the girls to write to all the courses and make all the arrangements and we had team matches. We played Craigmillar Park boys and I think we played Murrayfield boys and we had sort of good fun things as well and it was really enjoyable, it was, except when you were trying to get teams, because I remember as secretary, you had to phone everybody on this huge list ... It was people from Esdaile and these schools that have now closed down ... But it was really I suppose people who lived in Edinburgh or people who went to school in Edinburgh that were members of it, as well as some of the

[23] Information from Margaret Sneddon, June 3 1997.

> girls who lived outside Edinburgh and went to the local schools" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08)

The duties involved in getting teams together and organising events was good experience for those who, if they became involved in a golf club at a later date, would become club officials. As Gillian acknowledges, it was due to the pioneering work done by Nora Scott and others who continued after her that Hazelmount Girls' had their first competitive opportunities in the Midlothian area.

> "Well when I was involved in it Mrs Cuthbertson was in charge and there was another lady called Doreen Thomson who was a member of Craigmillar ... and we had things like ... a competition at Turnhouse in the April and then we had a summer meeting and a Midlothian Championship ..." (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

Having a club like Hazelmount gave girls who might not have had access as junior members of golf clubs in Edinburgh an opportunity to get to know other girl golfers, as well as giving them the experience of playing alongside boys.

As well as through Hazelmount, girls were being offered the opportunity to participate in golf in some co-educational schools in Edinburgh. Boroughmuir Secondary School had thirty girls as well as boys taking lessons at the Braid Hills in 1961 and most of these were beginners. This was only a few less than the number of girls playing golf at George Watson's in the early 1960s. A report in the *Boroughmuir Magazine* for 1962 stated that of the numbers playing golf, "the most significant interest had come from the girls". This was a change as before the 1960s, it was boys who were more inclined to participate. There was undoubted enthusiasm by girls in this school for golf and by 1963, the Boroughmuir girls had formed their own golf section and were receiving tuition from the professional, David Brash at Prestonfield. The evidence of a maintained interest by the girls resulted in the school expressing delight that girls were "adopting golf as their sport" (*Boroughmuir Magazine* 1964). While the boys golf team was playing against other schools, the girls were entering competitions including those organised by Hazelmount.[24] As a pupil reported, "Unlike the boys, we have not had much chance to compete with other golfers except in the Scottish Girls' competition last summer and we hope to

[24] Two Boroughmuir girls played in a knock-out competition organised by Hazelmount in 1962 (*Boroughmuir Magazine* 1962).

have some representatives in the Edinburgh Girls' Competition" (*Boroughmuir Magazine* 1963).

At George Watson's Ladies' in the 1960s, parents assumed that sport would be part of a fee paying education in the independent sector and staff would be committed to its organisation, as Doreen acknowledges.

> "Funnily enough, I think Watson's was perhaps easier than most, there really was both in the girls'and the boys' school and certainly in the co-ed set up, an ethos of "one played sport" ... The brothers were playing rugby and the girls just come along and played hockey and/or badminton or whatever ... sport was there and it was assumed by the parents, by the staff, by the kids that they would take part" (Doreen Smith SA 1998.02).

The 1960s signified a period of change in the sporting activities of the school and girls were not restricted to hockey, tennis and netball. There were opportunities to choose different sports. Doreen Smith remembers this time as exciting.

> "Yes, everything was expanding and there was a lot of change going on and the whole outlook changing and the idea that everybody played hockey, I'd never liked and it went by the board and you laid on, everybody played a sport, but they chose which one. It was sort of what we were trying to do ... athletics and then basketball and bit by bit all the various other sports came into it, including golf" (Doreen Smith SA 1998.02).

In the early to mid 1960s, there appeared to be interest in golf at Watson's, although the number of girls taking part fluctuated between a moderately high 47 in 1962 to a low of 18 in 1964 (*The George Square Chronicle* 1961-65). The interest was dependent on those who were keen encouraging others to participate. The standard among the players varied with some years better than others. The learning experience had its pains as well as its pleasures for one pupil.

> "We always noticed that few people played on the golf course on a Wednesday afternoon. It was not until we counted up the number of people, dogs, sheep and rabbits we had hit, that the reason for the scarcity of people became apparent ... I trust that our experiences will not put off any future golfers. Golf is great fun, when you can hit the ball" (J M W Form V *The George Square Chronicle* 1961:14-15).

With the incentive of free golf, one might have thought this would have be an attraction for more girls. But learning to play could be a frustrating experience for pupils and some gave up while others relished being given the time and opportunity to play. Gillian Kirkwood recalls her experience of playing on the Braids.

> "We used to go to David Houston at the Braids ... well he really took the beginners and the ones who could play went off and played golf. We played Number 1 or Number 2, whichever was quiet and I played an awful lot of golf at the Braids when I was at school. I could sometimes go for a full week, Monday to Friday and play every night at the Braids. We had matches against the boys, we had our own ... and you could go for ... well I probably played more at the Braids, than I played at my own course ... I don't remember ever paying a green fee, I think we kept on getting courtesy, through the school. I don't remember ever paying" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

Being a competitive player and one who played regularly Gillian and a few of the other keen golfers formed themselves into a school golf team. Interestingly, this was a pupil-driven incentive as, according to Doreen Smith, they took on the organisation of it themselves.

> "They got their team together and no other girls' school had a golf team. So they played Watson's boys and they played the Academy and Stewart's Melville and they had a whale of a time ... They organised it themselves, I gave them all the encouragement, but they were the moving force behind it and it was absolutely great. But once they all left there was just nobody to take their place, nobody of that calibre and you can't make golf teams out of people with no handicaps. They were all good golfers" (Doreen Smith SA 1998.01).

More opportunities were becoming available for girls to enter competitions throughout Midlothian County Ladies' Golf Association.[25] The Cuthbertson Cup, (named after the donor of the trophy), known previously as the Junior Inter-County Championship, gave girls a chance to represent their county. Gillian was picked as a representative of Midlothian.

> "I used to play in the Cuthbertson Cup and all that sort of county stuff ... I don't know when the Cuthbertson Cup got established but I think it was only a few years before I started playing in it, maybe two or three years...

[25] Midlothian County Ladies' Golf Association was instituted in 1907.

but I must have played when I was fifteen probably" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

In the 1970s, with more access to coaching in junior sections at private clubs and the opportunities offered through the Midlothian County Ladies' Golf Association, interest in Hazelmount Girls' waned and the club folded.

Introducing girls to sport and especially to golf in the late 19th and 20th century was not without problems. For girls to be accepted as sportswomen, they had to overcome criticism and sometimes prejudice. However it appears to be evident that for girls with golfing parents, playing with family members was the logical starting place for many. As far as school was concerned, it could be argued that those girls who were educated in the independent sector had probably more opportunities to play sport and to have access to golf than those in the state sector. However, not all independent schools adopted sport to the same extent as St Leonards and George Watson's Ladies' College. The ethos of playing sport at St Leonards was something of which the girls were made very aware. They were especially fortunate in being encouraged to play a variety of sport and being in St Andrews had access to golf if they showed interest. In George Watson's Ladies' College from the late 19th century, the girls were provided with sporting opportunities for those who were so inclined. Sport as an aspect of school life played a part in developing qualities of leadership as well as patience and understanding and this was considered something that would stand girls in good stead when dealing with situations later in their lives. For girls educated in the state sector, opportunities might not always have been readily available because of a shortage of money, space or a lack of qualified or interested staff; however as far as golf was concerned, Boroughmuir Secondary School was an exception especially in the early 1960s. After the Second World War more attention was focused on encouraging the young to take up golf and The Golf Foundation provided the means to encourage groups of girls as well as individuals to receive instruction from professionals who taught them fundamentals of golf. Girls in Edinburgh in the 1950s and 60s were also fortunate if they became involved in Hazelmount Girls' Golf Club. It was through this club that they gained confidence and competence, formed friendships and prepared themselves for future participation through golf clubs, the next point of entry into golf for girls and young women. The importance of club life for women in Scotland will form the basis of the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Golf Clubs - Club Life in the East of Scotland 1867 - 1960

To a certain degree belonging to a club can be compared to belonging to a family. Club membership for the most part provides cohesiveness and a sense of belonging but from time to time there can be tensions, usually caused by a conflict of interests among the members. The relationship between members and their social compatibility was an important factor within different types of clubs. As with the voluntary societies of the 18th and 19th century, which, as Morris (1990:414) suggests, were important "networks of people in similar situations", membership of a private golf club could fulfil a need for sections of society by providing a structure within which a sense of security and well-being was recognised. The golf club could become that social network, not only for men but also for women. Clubs were able to offer women the opportunity for social contact with other women in the pursuit of a similar interest, and they could also serve, as Tranter (1997:86) indicates, as "a much needed additional forum for social contact between the sexes". Clubs fulfilled not only an important social role but were immediately identifiable as having "a set of rules, a declared purpose and a membership defined by some formal act of joining" as Morris (1990:395) outlines. While men might have used golf clubs as a more informal setting in which to conduct business outside the office, golf clubs could provide women with an enclave outside the home and the opportunity to experience not only fresh air, exercise and competitiveness, but relaxation and enjoyment. Fellowship with others, as Holt (1998:77) suggests, was "a distinctly bourgeois form of sociability" for women who had time, money and in some instances social connections. Social life in suburbia for the middle-class often revolved around sporting clubs with golf clubs as well as tennis clubs central to these "worlds within worlds". As Holt points out from his study of Stanmore Golf Club in Middlesex (1998:77-78), private golf clubs were becoming the new social networks of the suburbs, places suited to the mixing of business and pleasure with the '19th hole' proving something of an attraction. Men could develop their business contacts on a social level at the bar after a round, while women "whose ample leisure was made possible by an army of underpaid domestic servants" had the time to meet friends, play bridge or whist and take afternoon tea. A club could also be a place for a family to share recreation together.

The establishment of golf clubs for women, how important they were for members and the nature of club life over a hundred year period, is the subject of this chapter. In considering the form and function of golf clubs which emerged, the focus is primarily concerned with Edinburgh as an important location for the development of suburban golf clubs in the East of Scotland from the 1890s. While consideration is given to clubs elsewhere in Scotland, the structure of Edinburgh golf clubs offers a guide to the different types of clubs found elsewhere in the country; some of these were for men only, some for ladies' only, while others provided ladies with their own section within the club and there were some where men and women had equality of membership.

Some women joined clubs for reasons of convenience, of location or because other family members had connections. The choice of club could be determined by the type of membership offered, the provision of playing facilities or what clubhouse facilities were available. While some clubs were women-friendly such as for instance, Craigmillar Park in Edinburgh which offered equal membership to women and men from the start, women who joined other types of clubs were not involved in the decision making process over matters concerning the course and clubhouse and were not eligible to vote.

The focus on the organisation and development of club life will centre on a case study of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, a private club located in suburban South Edinburgh. It typifies those clubs where women were 'associate' or 'ordinary' members and had responsibility for their own section within the club.[1] While club histories [2] can vividly reveal how women operated in this club and how the social life of the club was organised, evidence of formal business obtained from Minute Books is also an important source of information and an indication of the organisation surrounding competitive events. However, more significantly in an ethnological study is the oral contribution from members which can convey an 'in depth' picture of club life at a particular time and in a particular social milieu. It is through these personal insights, especially from the 1940s onwards, that conclusions can be drawn. However, in order to provide a context for the pattern of a golf club, we will consider first the earliest club formed in the latter half of the 19th century, the St Andrews

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[1] Associate members paid a subscription but had no voting rights.

[2] I. A.Graham (1982) has produced a limited edition of the history of the Merchants Golf Club from 1907 to 1982 and J.George (1989) provides some material relating to the Merchants in an unpublished undergraduate project lodged in the University of Edinburgh, School of Scottish Studies. See Bibliography.

Ladies' Club, established as the first ladies' golf club in 1867, a club for ladies, but which gentlemen could join as "associate" members. The first known ladies' golf club became a model for many other clubs.

5.1 St Andrews Ladies' Golf Club

It is significant that the formation of the earliest known ladies' club should be in 'the home of golf', St Andrews, on the links close to where the Royal and Ancient (R&A), the most important and influential golf club, had established itself as the ruling body of golf. This first club provides a focal point for the subsequent discussion of other clubs established at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century.

According to Jarrett (1995:28), the links land was used for a variety of activities including croquet where men and women were frequently seen playing together in front of the Royal and Ancient clubhouse. Prior to the 1860s, if women wanted to play golf they had few opportunities. When they attempted to play, controversy surrounded the manner of their approach to the game. Mrs Wolfe-Murray upset the male golfing community of St Andrews in 1855, when she had the audacity to play golf on the links, which was considered to be 'male only' territory. Women could accompany men round the links and some were known to do so, but their presence was regarded as a distraction for the serious male golfer. Hackney (1990:2) reported that, "The links ... is not the place for women; they talk incessantly, they never stand still, and if they do, the wind won't allow their dresses to stand still". During the 1860s some ladies had been seen playing over the caddies' course which was situated in an area adjacent to the 17th green of the Old Course. Mrs Boothby, the wife of Lt-Col Boothby, a well-known member of the R&A, and her daughter were among the first ladies who had ventured on to the caddies' course. Caddies, being of a low social status, were allocated their own course designed to segregate them other than when they were in the employ of members of the R&A. A caddie was considered something of a social outcast and had little in the way of job security and some lived in a state of poverty. As Jarrett (1995:127) points out, caddies had little reason to object to the ladies invading their space as "it was not unusual for players' wives to help a caddie in times of hardship". Furthermore the caddies had no authority to evict the ladies from their course as these men were in the employ of the gentlemen players. As Douglas (1989:1) observes, "It became a great public spectacle for the

caddies and for the public to go and watch these ladies in hats and bustles playing golf."[3]

Ladies in their elegant attire trying to hit guttie[4] balls with golf clubs possibly borrowed from male family members must have been viewed as a strange sight and would have aroused the curiosity of people in St Andrews at this time. Men at play on the links was commonplace, but rarely women. They were more generally observers of the men's game rather than participants. The idea that they were in full view of the public gaze on a course deemed only suitable for the lower classes was something which could not be sanctioned by the town for ladies of their social standing. According to Marigold Speir, a member of the St Rule Club in St Andrews, the gentlemen of the R&A were of the mind that if their ladies insisted on playing, they should be socially segregated from the caddies' critical and disapproving gaze and given their own short course on which to play.

> "Well it wasn't thought 'quite nice' that the caddies and everyone were looking at the ladies playing ... so they moved over ... the ladies wanted to have somewhere to play ... the 'Himalayas'... was obviously a bit bigger and they had fewer holes ... I think they only had about half a dozen holes, or something like that and they were slightly longer I think" (Marigold Speir: SA 1998.05).

At this time only putting greens and short courses were deemed 'suitable' for ladies. The 'Himalayas', an area on the seaward side of the Old Course, so called because of the undulating nature of the ground, seemed ideal for the purpose of the ladies. **Fig.6** This piece of land, owned by Mr Cheape of Strathtyrum but maintained by the R&A, was situated nearer the gentlemen's clubhouse, where the ladies could be under their watchful eye (Jarrett 1995:126).

Having secured this as their territory, the ladies named themselves the "St Andrews Ladies' Golf Club" and established a club in 1867 where they could gather together socially to share their pursuit of golf. This was the first ladies' club to be formed in Britain. Having no template for organisation other than that of the R&A, the club followed the pattern and the principles set by the men's club by adopting a similar set of written local rules and regulations for members. These rules, according to

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[3] Quoted from an unpublished paper, C. Douglas (1989)'The Early Days of Ladies' Golf in St Andrews'. St Andrews Heritage Trust. See Bibliography.

[4] See Glossary.

Jarrett (1995:21), "tended to provide remedies and penalties for situations which were peculiarly local". Some of the rules published in 1868 were very precise. For example:

> Rule 1 - "No-one under the age of 13 may be a member".
>
> Rule 6 - "Players on medal days are to have the option of playing their balls out of bunkers, or they can lift them and tee them in front of the hazard, thereby losing 2 strokes".
>
> Rule 21 - "The flags are to be placed in the holes at 11 a.m. summer and winter and to be removed at dusk". (Douglas 1989:2)

Some rules allowed a bit of leeway under penalty but suggest that they had been put in place to be observed. Standards of protocol were important in restricting the course to adults. As far as membership of this club was concerned it did not extend to girls until they were over the age of 13.[5]

An annual subscription of 2/6d (12.5p) ensured that ladies who joined were from the elite of St Andrews society. Of the original membership of one hundred ladies, most were related to members of the Royal and Ancient Club, thus guaranteeing their social credentials. Consequently, as Hamilton (1998:154) observes, this ladies' club performed an important social function at this time; it allowed "visits from gentlemen, the promenade, introductions and courtship and it provided an acceptable situation in which members of the opposite sex could meet". As ladies had no place within the R&A, being a member of this club was to be accepted into an exclusive social circle, a female equivalent to the R&A. The club provided lady members a degree of privacy in their own enclave for members and invited guests.

However, it would be wrong to assume that the St Andrews Ladies' Golf Club was a completely independent venture on the part of the ladies. The club could not have operated without the support of the gentlemen. Within other voluntary organisations, men had distinctive roles to play. Morris (1990:412-3) indicates that the normal practice in a club or society was to set in place a selected "oligarchy" with a secretary "usually a solicitor and a treasurer a local banker or merchant". This mirrors to some extent the organisation of the LGU executive where men with their administrative experience assumed some of the responsibilities of power as vice-chairmen, although

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[5] This continues to be a feature of membership in some clubs at the end of the 20th century where juniors are not allowed to join until they reach a certain age.

interestingly not in the posts of secretary and treasurer, which were filled by women.[6] However in the St Andrews club, the gentlemen assumed control by placing a male secretary in charge of the administration. Fifty gentlemen were allowed to become associate members.

Monthly competitions were introduced in the 1860s and complete beginners were encouraged to enter with allowances made for those less skilled under penalty as the rules imply. Prizes awarded to the winners of these competitions established a precedent for other clubs to follow. It is important to recognise that it was through the financial support of the gentlemen that this was able to happen as they were responsible for donating a set of ornamental medals.

> "From May to October, on the last Saturday of each month, a competition for challenge prizes takes place. Each month's medal represents its proper zodiacal sign, fashioned in gold, silver and bronze for the first, second and third respectively; they are, in order, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, the Virgin, the Balance and the Scorpion, the winners retaining them for a year". (Quoted from an account of 1899, Hackney 1990:15)

The nature of the prizes emphasises the significant importance attached to material awards as well as rewarding the achievement of winning. Although these prizes were in the possession of the winner for a year, they remained the property of the club. This first ladies' club established a format for competitions which was copied and was still adhered to in the late 20th century by making a draw for partners and playing in pairs. Membership by 1887 had risen to 500 members reflecting the interest in golf especially from summer visitors. It is significant also that the R&A at this time had a membership of 795 (Hamilton 1998:154). The popularity of the ladies' club was such that during August and September, which was regarded as 'The Season' in St Andrews, between 4 and 7 o'clock, members often had to wait up to half an hour or more before playing.

> "A rack with numbered holes where putters can be placed is in constant requisition at the first tee, their owners starting in turn according to the number secured, and a custodian of the green is posted to see that order and regularity are maintained" (Quoted from an account of 1899, Hackney 1990:16).

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[6] See Chapter Three.

This practise of establishing an order of play continues in some clubs at the present time where a 'ball chute' determines the order of those waiting to commence play. Supervision of the course was important and having an official on duty was a way of keeping a check on who was using the course.[7]

The erection of an 'iron and wood' pavilion in 1898 with a verandah gave the ladies a permanent structure from which they could watch play and socialise. "A large room inside affords all the accommodation that could be wished. Tea is served here when large competitions are in progress" (Quoted from an account of 1899, Hackney 1990:16). Until this time the ladies, when gathering prior to play, had to make do with the shelter of a tent. As far as the playing facilities of St Andrews Ladies' Golf Club were concerned, this short course was in use for a period of thirty years. The club was later renamed the Ladies' Putting Club of St Andrews and with the construction of the twelve hole Jubilee Course adjacent to the Old Course in 1897, those who preferred the challenge of a longer course had the opportunity to play here.[8]

It is important to stress that St Andrews by the 1890s was a fashionable town which had attractions for the wealthy and well-connected from other parts of Britain. Visitors could play over the common links land but it was important that there should be facilities appropriate for ladies when their men were playing on the Old Course. A ladies' social club, the St Rule Club, was founded in 1896.[9] Within two years a golf club for ladies within the social club had been formed with Agnes Grainger as the moving force behind it. Julius (1998:26), in her history of the St Rule Club, refers to the problems of having a golf club within a social club and the disharmony that this could cause. With everything having to be "approved by the social club Management Committee before it could be done", the golfers were often in confrontation with the non-golfers. In one instance, the social club rejected a request in May 1900 that temporary membership of the social club be given to golfers. However, by May 1902, agreement had been reached allowing daughters and sisters of members of the social club to join the golf club, on payment of one guinea (£1.10p) annual subscription, although they were not given access to the same facilities as social members (Julius1998:30).

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[7] A starter is often employed to undertake this task at the present time.
[8] The Jubilee was named in recognition of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897.
[9] See Chapter Three.

As far as girls under eighteen years of age were concerned, unless they were pupils of St Leonards School,[10] there was no golf club in St Andrews which could offer them admission until the Alexandra Club was formed in 1903, by the daughters of a 'well-respected' local doctor (Julius 1998:37-38). Of the girls who joined, the majority were aged between twelve and seventeen and came from families who could afford an entrance fee and annual subscription of 10/- (50p). As Tranter (1989:41) indicates, belonging to a club "was far too expensive a pastime for working-class women". Club entry fees and annual subscriptions were beyond their means. Furthermore, Birley (1995:103) maintains that this element of social control within golf clubs ensured a continuation of class barriers. Those who did not fulfil the social requirements and the sponsorship of two members, need not apply. This condition continues to be part of the procedure in evidence at most clubs at the present time, although the vetting procedure in the St Rule club makes exceptional requirements.

> "If you know someone, you get a proposer and a seconder and you are supposed to have ten letters in all supporting you, but obviously if you are new to the area and you come and don't know anyone that is difficult" (Marigold Speir, SA 1998.05).

Vetting prospective members ensures the selective control of applicants as the vetting procedures here imply. As far as admitting junior girls is concerned, by law the St Rule Club is unable to accept them for membership until they are sixteen.

> "You have to be a certain age and that is because of the licensing laws. It is because we have a licence that it is difficult and we can't have them in the drawing room, because the bar is attached to the drawing room upstairs there ... It is a bad thing that there is not a junior section and we are never very happy about that". (Marigold Speir SA 1998.05)

Here the club has made a conscious choice. They would rather have a licensed bar than a junior section.

We have seen that St Andrews was responsible for setting in place and establishing a pattern for a ladies' golf club in the latter part of the 19th century. With important factors such as wealth, class and age to consider in setting strict criteria for membership, St Andrews Ladies' could be regarded as fairly representative of similar male societies and clubs formed in the 19th century. The St Andrews Ladies' Golf

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[10] See Chapter Four.

Club, as the first of its kind in the world, ensured that a recognisable pattern would follow for other ladies' clubs, with the club being an enclave where ladies could socialise as well as compete. It served as a model for the North Devon Ladies' Golf Club at Westward Ho, the first club to be formed south of the border in 1868, which had a similar ratio of lady members and gentlemen associates.

5.1.2 Other early clubs

Of the golf clubs for women which emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, many were primarily adjuncts of men's clubs and were under the supervision and administration of men. They tended to be located in areas which attracted a wealthy middle-class membership and usually shared with men the facilities of course and sometimes clubhouse. The majority of those clubs were located on the East Coast of Scotland in Musselburgh (1872), Carnoustie (1873), Elie (1884), Cupar (1885), Nairn (1887), North Berwick (1888), Haddington (1889) and Moray (1889).[11] Most clubs were in areas well served by rail links which made travel to and from the courses convenient for members and visitors.

Lundin Ladies' Golf Club (1890) in Fife was unique in that it was established by "local village residents" and was family friendly. As Elliot (1991:4) indicates, the membership of this club was open to ladies, gentlemen associates and children over seven. Gentlemen "were allowed to play only when accompanying ladies". Interestingly, as Elliot (1991:20) observes, of those ladies' clubs which developed in Scotland in the 1890s, Lundin Ladies' positively endorsed "educating children in the etiquette and courtesy of the game" and contrary to the rules of other clubs, organised competitions during the summer holidays for their benefit. With a rail link, the village of Lundin Links became easily accessible to visitors from Edinburgh and Glasgow and by the 1890s had become a popular summer resort for families because of the large number of hotels, boarding houses and houses for letting. While an equal number of ladies and gentlemen formed the committee and a gentleman took the chair at meetings, unlike other clubs, local women were given positions of authority, becoming office bearers in the club. However relations between the sexes were not always harmonious. In 1896, proposals were put forward for a clubhouse but this was opposed by "a number of formidable gentlemen" and the whole committee tendered their resignations. When a new committee was formed at a Special General Meeting a few days later, a decision was taken to withdraw the voting rights of the

[11] The dates indicate the year the ladies' club was formed.

men, a hint here of discrimination in reverse. Miss Maud Gilmour was the first female to become captain in 1904 and with the exception of a period from 1908 – 1919, this position was always held by a woman.[12]

When the North British Railway Company completed a line between Edinburgh and North Berwick in 1850, East Lothian became one of the areas where golf developed most rapidly and where several of the clubs developed a reputation of being among the most exclusive. As Durie and Huggins (1998:173-187) indicate, North Berwick and Gullane attracted wealthy members of the middle class from Edinburgh. Consequently golf became "a shaper of residence and visitor patterns" when their families took up residence especially during the month of August. Nalder (2000:126) also refers to those wealthy families who "withdrew to the area and many chose to stay for months on end". Added to this was an influx of wealthy visitors from further afield, especially from south of the border which set the social tone of the coastal resorts as "middle and professional class preserves". The links at North Berwick attracted amongst others A. J. Balfour, the British Prime Minister (1902-5) who spent the summer recess at his nearby 14,000 acre family seat at Whittingehame. The spending power and "conspicuous consumption" of these incomers was partly responsible for the development of the sporting facilities in these east coast resorts in the 1880s and 1890s. The wealth of the middle-class had a profound effect on the nature of consumer demand and because of the extra income generated from visitors and visiting members, those involved in the management of the golf clubs were able to invest in even greater facilities in their clubhouses, providing comfortable surroundings which would attract even greater numbers of potential members. At North Berwick ladies especially were well looked after. In the privacy of their well-appointed clubhouse ladies could renew social contacts or establish new ones. Professionals were on hand to offer instruction or advice on the purchasing of equipment and they could ensure that a ready supply of caddies was available for ladies who wanted a round of golf on the links.

The expansion of golf, especially from the early 1890s, was being experienced throughout Britain with this sport occupying an increasing amount of leisure time especially for the middle aged and the middle-class. It is estimated that in 1885 there were 161 clubs in Britain and in the space of twenty years this had increased to 1,939. But as Burnett and Lewis (1996:114) admit, "counting golf clubs is an inexact

[12] Lundin Ladies' continues to be a club under the control of women.

science" and if the editors of the *Golfing Annual* did not receive up-to-date information, then these figures could only prove to be an approximation.

The popularity of golf was such that further ladies' clubs were established in and around the coastal areas of Scotland. Sixteen ladies' clubs were in existence in Scotland by 1892 and eleven years later this had increased to forty-nine [13] (Source Cossey 1984:244-5). Importantly, these were located in places with good transport links and many of these clubs were boosted by the membership of seasonal visitors. Machrihanish (1890) on the Mull of Kintyre peninsula, despite its remoteness, attracted its share of visitors not only from Glasgow, but from London and the south of England as it was served by a railway line. In 1899 Machrihanish is recorded as having a membership of one hundred ladies, and Carnoustie, one hundred and twenty four.[14] However, only a few of these early clubs in Scotland were formed solely as 'ladies only' clubs and run totally separately from men's clubs.

5.2 Edinburgh

Prior to the 19th century, in Edinburgh the public provision of golf courses was limited to the common land in Bruntsfield and Leith, the original playing areas of the male golfing societies. Towards the end of the 19th century, these areas were vacated by the organised societies for more private surroundings and left to a few of the smaller, less prestigious male clubs such as the Bruntsfield Allied Golfing Society and the Thistle Club. We have to be aware that golf was not confined to those who belonged to private clubs. Men and women had access to play on the public course at Portobello and on the Braid Hills which was developed as an area for recreation from 1889. The *Golfers Guide Annual* (Vol. V 1898:112) indicates that the Braids had two golf courses at this time, one of eighteen holes and one of nine holes. The shorter 'Prince's' course was "generally left to ladies, young people and learners" and a ladies' pavilion and refreshment rooms were provided. Caddies could also be hired so it would appear that this was a public facility which provided for the needs of women golfers. A group of women from the board schools who formed their own golf association in 1905 played on the Braid Hills. They were also given permission to play at Torphin Hill "on payment of £1 per player per year", but were restricted in as much as they were not allowed to play on Saturdays (Chalmers 1995:25). As no

[13] See Appendix II for list of Ladies' Golf Clubs in Scotland 1867-1903. From 1897, the LGU published some statistics in the *LGU Official Yearbook* of Scottish clubs affiliated to the LGU, but again these only reveal approximate rather than exact numbers.
[14] See Appendix II.

written records exist concerning this group, one must conclude that these teachers were limited by their lack of opportunities to play. After school or in school holidays would have been the extent of their participation.

5.2.1 The suburban golf clubs in Edinburgh

It is important to consider the variations in the type of golf club which were available to join in the 1890s and early decades of the 20th century. As Brown (1987:178-9) indicates, women might have considered joining a church club where both single and married women had the opportunity of making respectable sporting and social contacts. Several were listed in the *Golfer's Guide Annual* (Vol.V 1898:120) and included St Anthony's, attached to Lothian Road United Presbyterian Church and St Matthews in Morningside, which had lady members. However, church golf clubs experienced increasing competition from the facilities of the new suburban private golf clubs. The private golf clubs which women might potentially join formed part of the development of the green belt of the urban environment. In the areas of Corstorphine and Murrayfield in the west, Duddingston and Portobello in the east and Blackford and Lothianburn in the south of Edinburgh, new house building was on the increase between 1892 and 1910 and potential residents viewed these areas with a regard to the availability of leisure facilities as well as other amenities. Developers and business men seized opportunities to create sporting facilities in these suburbs where there was much planning and development of land for golf courses. With the establishment of a suburban railway line around the periphery of Edinburgh in the 1890s, this offered a convenient mode of transport not only from the home to the office in the city centre, but also between one golf course and another with many of the clubs conveniently located near to stations on the suburban line.

Several clubs considered it important to encourage the young of both sexes to experience golf in a family-friendly atmosphere. Some clubs were centres of social interaction on and off the course and were an important meeting place for both sexes. Most gave women scope for organisation within their own 'ladies' section, while a few considered that women should become involved as equal partners in decision-making from the outset.

It was Edinburgh Ladies' Golf Club, established near Blackford Hill in 1894 which set the tone as a family-friendly suburban club. Importantly this was a club which encouraged the participation of different generations. Daughters figure more

than sons, as the membership list reveals. Husbands, wives and their children, could share a recreation in the company of other families. A examination of the addresses of members which are recorded in the *LGU Annual* indicate that the members of Edinburgh Ladies' came from prosperous upper middle-class areas of Edinburgh, which included Morningside, the Grange and the New Town. Within three years the club had attracted a membership of 335 ladies, both single and married and 141 gentlemen (*LGU Annual* 1897).

To identify themselves as members of this club, the ladies wore red coats with green facings, red and green ties and hat ribbons on the course. It was not the normal practice in Scotland for lady golfers to draw attention to themselves by placing such emphasis on a distinguishing uniform, although in doing so they were copying the members of the prestigious male golfing establishments.[15] Boys and Mackern (1899:154) point to the importance of identification at two of the most prestigious ladies' clubs south of the border, North Devon and Wimbledon, where club insignia were worn. These symbols of identity served as a mark of distinction from women who belonged to less prestigious clubs.

Although this was a club established primarily for women and their offspring, it was under the control of men from the outset. The president, secretary and the two vice captains were male, as were the majority of the committee (16 men to 4 women). The secretary, Mr Bloxsom, whose daughter became a member of the club, was also a prominent member of Murrayfield Golf Club and had been a co-founder of the North Berwick Ladies' Club in 1888. Men who already had experience of office-bearing in one club could generally put their managerial skills to use in the establishment of other clubs. It was not expected that women would assume office bearing roles. They were considered to have little experience in managerial roles and were given only minority representation in the administration of the club for the first few years. However by 1914, seven ladies and six gentlemen were serving on the committee reflecting a shift towards a fairer representation for women. While in the LGU the posts of secretary and treasurer were the responsibility of women, in this club they remained under the control of the men (*The LGU Official Year Book* 1914).

Amy Bennet Pascoe, one of the first commentators on ladies' golf in the 1890s, was of the opinion that "An ideal ladies' course should not be shorter than two miles,

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[15] Members of the Honourable Company, the Burgess and Bruntsfield Links Golfing Societies' wore red coats as a mark of distinctiveness.

have 18 holes on light springy soil, in an open bracing air, a comfortable clubhouse with drying rooms, inexpensive luncheon and a staff of good regular caddies" (Boys & Mackern 1899:123). Miss Pascoe might well have responded favourably to the Edinburgh Ladies' Golf Club although it only partly fulfilled her criteria for a ladies' club. It had nine holes and a clubhouse and was situated near to railway stations at Blackford and Morningside. Holes ranged in length from 91 to 224 yards and were laid out on a steep sided hill where players had to negotiate such hazards as bunkers and a wall which formed part of the course. Although a 'pitch and putt course' by modern day standards, in the late 1890s ladies had to be fairly fit to tackle the challenge of a round here. With an increase in membership to 375 ladies and 150 gentlemen by 1899, the income was invested into extending the course to twelve holes in 1900. The popularity of this club attracted visitors from outside Edinburgh who also brought in additional income as they could be charged by a daily or monthly rate (*Golfing Annual* Vol. XIX 1905-6). This helped towards the upkeep of the course and the improvement of club amenities.

The facilities which clubhouses had to offer were an important feature in the consideration of the membership of a golf club. If a clubhouse was warm and inviting this would be seen as an asset in attracting members. The clubhouse of Edinburgh Ladies' appears to have been fairly substantial in size, incorporating a clubroom, committee room, a ladies' lounge and a gentlemen's lounge, as well as a kitchen for catering arrangements (Boys & Mackern 1899:154). The gender division within gave each sex a degree of separation and freedom while the clubroom was communal territory. Edinburgh Ladies' was clearly a flourishing club and its popularity was such that, as the *Golfing Annual* reveals in 1905, the membership had to be closed as numbers had reached a maximum.

While Baberton Golf Club in the south-west of Edinburgh was the first of the Edinburgh clubs to recognise that ladies might be attracted to golf, they immediately 'segregated' the women to a six hole course in 1893. A portion of the clubhouse was "set apart for their use" (*Golfing Annual* Vol. XIX 1905-6). Baberton attracted its membership of 150 ladies not only from the Juniper Green and Colinton areas, but also from other parts of Edinburgh, being situated close to the suburban railway line and five miles from the city centre. Interestingly, ladies played their monthly medal competitions on Saturdays on their own course and in subsequent years were given access to the gentlemen's course. However play here was restricted to stroke

competitions on 'selected' Mondays, Saturday being a day when men would want complete freedom of access to their course.

Murrayfield Golf Club, however, allowed women more responsibilities than in most clubs. From its founding in 1896, women were invited to join the committee and become involved in the day-to-day running of the club. As well as having the responsibility for the running of the club house, two women were invited to join the Greens Committee which reported to the club council on the condition of the course. Being given this responsibility, women became familiar with the work required for the upkeep of the course and maintenance of the clubhouse. As Bryden (1996:125-6) points out, these responsibilities led to a subcommittee being formed by the female members to represent their own interests, which included attending to handicaps. For women to be given responsibilities apart from those of a domestic nature in the running of a golf club was enterprising at a time when men assumed control at most clubs. Women also had the power to approve or disapprove of applicants as they were allowed to vet those who submitted applications for membership. As Holt (1998:81) points out in his study of the Stanmore Club in Middlesex, vetting the credentials of an applicant was an important way of ensuring a harmonious socio-cultural mix, " ... simply being able to afford to join was not enough. A minimum level of funding had to be accompanied by a certain degree of refinement".[16] The women of Murrayfield were well ahead of their counterparts at Stanmore, who did not give their female members this authority until 1946 (Holt 1998:84).

Craigmillar Park Golf Club had its origins in 1895 in the Newington area of Edinburgh. As Russell (1995:2-3) indicates, "150 ladies and gentlemen had already been admitted as members of the club", which suggests that there was already a pool of itinerant local players who had an interest in the establishment of a golf course in this area. Ladies had no restrictions on the course and could play at any time. They paid a slightly lower subscription than men until 1914, when subscriptions were equalised. While they were not considered for any office bearing roles, five ladies were appointed to the Tea Committee thus affirming their traditional domestic role.

[16] Murrayfield had an entrance fee of £5.5s (£5. 25) and annual subscription of £1.11.6 (about £1.53). This club had a higher entrance fee than other Edinburgh clubs.

The enthusiasm for mixed competition is evident at this club with both sexes keen to compete together at "mixed doubles", as it was known in the 1890s.[17] The mixed championship was also exceptionally well supported in 1896 with fifty-three couples entering. This indicates that this club fulfilled a social and competitive function allowing both sexes opportunities to meet on and off the course. Not only did Craigmillar have a spirited attitude to mixed competition but introduced members to competitive and social exchange with the nearby club, Edinburgh Ladies'. Russell (1995:5) records that the first mixed match with ten couples a side was played over the Craigmillar course on May 9 1896 and resulted in a win for the Edinburgh Ladies' Club. As with most matches, a return fixture was played on the Edinburgh Ladies' course, but the result is not recorded. Over the following years, bonds between these clubs developed and strengthened as a result of this inter-club competition.

Craigmillar Park Golf Club were forced to look for new quarters for a course and clubhouse when the tenure on the original site ran out in 1904. The financing of the move to Blackford Hill was achieved by an addition of 100 members and an increase in the subscription to £1 5s for ladies and £1 10s for men.[18] The clubhouse, formally opened on October 5 1907, was a substantial villa with a committee room, lounge and kitchen with the ladies being allocated "the west room upstairs as their boxroom" (Russell 1995:13). Craigmillar was to benefit from an influx of 127 female members after World War I and for the first time in its history, there were more women members than men. This was partly due to the demise of the Edinburgh Ladies' Golf Club in 1918.[19]

The LGU Official Year Book, which gave details of members' names and addresses until 1914, lists several Edinburgh golfers as belonging to more than one club with some having memberships of clubs in East Lothian. With the Edinburgh Ladies' course being a fairly short one, having the challenge of a longer course like Murrayfield or Gullane gave serious players more scope to test their ability. While some women might have been enticed by a spacious and comfortable clubhouse and

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[17] The terminology has since developed and "mixed foursomes" is now used to identify this type of competition.

[18] With the absence of early record books it is impossible to verify the original subscription, but in line with Edinburgh Ladies', it was likely to have been no more than £1.

[19] It is not clear whether the membership of Edinburgh Ladies' had dwindled, making the club uneconomic to operate, or whether the land was requisitioned for building when the lease ran out. As Smith (1978:238) indicates, the latter appears more likely as the course was developed as the site of the Astley Ainslie Hospital in the early 1920s.

an opportunity to widen their circle of friends and make new acquaintances, others were drawn to clubs which gave greater scope for competition especially in the summer holiday period. The *LGU Official Year Book* for 1914 indicates some of the Edinburgh women who belonged to another club as follows.[20]

Miss A M Anderson - Murrayfield (20), Gullane (LGU - 11)
Miss Ballingall - Murrayfield (14), Gullane (LGU-14)
Miss J Blair - Edinburgh Ladies (4), Murrayfield (no record)
Miss J Broun - Edinburgh Ladies (4), Murrayfield (7)
Miss M Campbell - Baberton * (+10), Musselburgh (LGU 5)
Miss A Chalmers - Edinburgh Ladies (9), Murrayfield (16)
Miss J Cousins - Craigmillar Park (17), Cramond Brig (10, LGU - 29)
Miss Galloway - Murrayfield (20), Gullane (20)
Miss M Lennox - Murrayfield (7), Gullane (7)
Mrs McCuaig - Edinburgh Ladies (11), Murrayfield (21)
Miss H G Sherriff - Edinburgh Ladies (13), Murrayfield (23) [21]

* denotes that Baberton had not adopted LGU handicaps

The preponderance of single women might suggest that the majority of women were young and unmarried although this status could apply to older unmarried women as well. Of those named by the LGU, the single/unmarried woman represented the majority of the membership of these particular clubs, but this alone cannot permit a complete reconstruction of the age range and social composition. The LGU published only names, addresses and handicaps of members whose clubs were affiliated to the LGU up to 1914.

It would be remiss when discussing the status of golf clubs not to refer to a club which was created solely for professional women in paid employment. Swanston Golf Club came into being in 1927 because of the endeavour of a woman, Miss Margaret Carswell (b.1885). The daughter of a Fife landowner, she had always been interested in sport and at Bonville Ladies' College in Cupar in the 1890s had been a hockey player. She had also played golf in Fife. Moving to Edinburgh in the 1920s, she continued her interest in sport by joining the Edinburgh Women's Athletic Club, but was concerned that at this time there were not enough opportunities in golf clubs to suit the needs of professional working women, especially those who were involved on a full time basis with commercial and business interests (Cant 1987:232). Failing to find a golf club which suited her own and the needs of others, Miss Carswell set

[20] The number in brackets indicates the player's handicap at the appropriate club.
[21] Source: The *LGU Official Yearbook* (1914). LGU handicaps appear in brackets.

her sights on designing and constructing her own course and creating a club where the membership would be exclusively female and would accommodate the lifestyle of professional working women.

She leased a piece of land from a local farmer on the slopes of the Pentland Hills at Swanston on the outskirts of Edinburgh. Coming from farming stock, she was familiar with the land and its possibilities and according to her great-niece, Anne Millar, would have loved to have been a farmer, but in the early 1900s that type of occupation was not considered suitable for a young woman.[22] Her knowledge of land management was advantageous and along with the 'manpower' of Herbert More, who was at that time the green keeper at the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, they together constructed a nine hole course. By 1928, the course had been extended to eighteen holes. Miss Margaret Carswell could be considered one of the earliest female pioneers in the design and development of a golf course.[23]

As the founder of the Edinburgh branch of the Soroptimist Club, an association for business and professional women, Miss Carswell was able to enrol women from this organisation as members of Swanston Golf Club (Cant 1987:234). To encourage women to join her club, she requested that her great-niece Anne Millar should make some illustrations to advertise the course and these were displayed in the Overseas Club where meetings of the Soroptimist Club were held. **Fig.7** Unfortunately, there is little in the records of the Soroptomist Club which directly relates to Miss Carswell and her golf club other than an entry which indicates that she "entertained them at her golf club".[24]

Curiously, in the early 1930s Miss Carswell, in spite of her original motivation, relented to pressure from some of the members to invite men to take up membership of the club. Due to relaxing the rules in favour of including men, she was able to obtain the necessary funding from an increased membership and finance the building of a proper clubhouse in 1935. Swanston was rather inconveniently located for golfers, being 'a good walk' from the tram halt at Braid Road, but the enterprising Miss Carswell laid on a free car shuttle service for her members.[25] Membership of

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[22] Information from Mrs Anne Millar, Scone, Perthshire.

[23] Before this time golf course design had been the prerogative of men in Scotland such as James Braid and Ben Sayers.

[24] Minutes of the Soroptimist Club of Edinburgh 1929-1947, June 1928.

[25] Mr William Craig, the brother of a member and a neighbour of Miss Carswell, recalls an open top car with a lady chauffeuse, which took players from the tram halt to the golf course. Information from Mr William Craig, formerly of Comiston Drive, Morningside, Edinburgh.

the club increased to 232 the following year (*The LGU Official Yearbook* 1936). Mrs More, the wife of the greenkeeper Herbert More, was appointed the clubmistress and served teas to the golfers. Her daughter, Mrs Ellen McLagan, who now occupies the cottage "Rathillet" built for her father and his family by Miss Carswell beside the first tee, remembers as a child helping her mother in the clubhouse.[26]

Like Agnes Grainger, Miss Carswell devoted most of her energies to running her club and to encouraging others in golf rather than playing herself. She encouraged youngsters to play golf at Swanston in the afternoons by charging moderate prices to schoolboys and girls (6d - 2.5p for a round of golf). The post-war period saw an increase in male members while the ladies' membership decreased so that by 1948, there were fewer than 100 lady members (*The LGU Official Yearbook* 1948).[27] Other courses located more conveniently for residential areas were attracting ladies. Miss Carswell's dominating presence was still a major factor in the management of the club and despite the ladies being outnumbered, she continued to represent them and make her presence felt at committee meetings.[28]

Attempting to reconstruct what everyday club life might have been like for the female golfer in the early part of the 20th century in a suburban city club cannot be done with a complete degree of accuracy, but one can get a sense of the quality of club life from formal club records as they relate to the administration of the club as well as from oral sources. The Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club, a suburban club in south Edinburgh is an example of what club life represented for women between 1907 and1960. The first section provides some material for analysis from the early documentary records,[29] while oral testimony and reminiscence from the 1940s onwards adds to the examination of club life.

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[26] Information from Mrs Ellen McLagan, 'Rathillet', Swanston.

[27] The LGU records indicate that in 1929, the club had affiliated to the LGU.

[28] Miss Carswell died on September 1 1966 and with her went the female hold on Swanston Golf Club. By the mid 1960s the number of lady members had decreased even further to 45 (*LGU Official Yearbook* 1966).

[29] The club is fortunate in having complete documents for the ladies, while early records concerning the male membership are lacking. These documents relating to the female membership are important and accessible. Five books, *Ladies Record of Scores* 1910-1987, and a series of eight *Minute Books* cover the period 1922-1992.

5.2.2 Membership of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club

The Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club was founded in November 1907 in the suburb of Morningside. Burnett & Lewis (1996:114) indicate that some of the city golf societies were founded "on the basis of some pre-existing social group". Morningside in the early 1900s had a large proportion of merchants and self-employed small shopkeepers who were the nucleus of the club, hence the name 'The Merchants of Edinburgh'. The difference between the golf societies which developed in Edinburgh through trade, professional, educational or political associations at the turn of the 20th century and the private clubs was that most of the societies tended to be non-course owning while the private clubs had their own course and clubhouse.[30] Forming a club required that land be leased and a course constructed before an administration could be elected to conduct the affairs of the club within a clubhouse. Membership of this club however was not exclusively confined to local merchants. Graham (1982:5) points out that other members were known to have been professional men from the area involved in law, medicine and the church signifying that this was a fairly broad socio-economic grouping. With an initial membership of 392 men paying a three guinea (£3.15p) subscription, there was significant support among men in this area for this particular golf club.

Ben Sayers, the professional from North Berwick was employed to design the 18 hole course over an area of 77 acres on the slopes of the Craiglockhart hills. [31] This course of 4,118 yards in length with its natural beauty and panoramic views offered invigorating exercise and a challenge to golfers. A clubhouse was considered necessary to attract additional members and Cant (1998:121) indicates that the cost to the members of building a clubhouse in 1908 was £1,300 "defrayed by loans and a system of £5 debentures offered to members". The clubhouse was completed in January 1909 and officially opened on September 25 1909. **Fig.8** The opening of the clubhouse in 1909 would almost certainly have been attended by family members.

The records indicate that in December 1909, the rules of the club were amended to admit 20 ladies who were mothers, wives, sisters or daughters of male members.[32] Offering membership to women could be a useful device for increasing the income of the club although surprisingly, the small number of female members suggests that

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[30] Burnet and Lewis (1996:115) indicate that twenty per cent of the trade groups in Edinburgh alone had formed themselves into golfing societies between 1879 and 1914.

[31] See **Fig.8** for a photograph of the Merchants of Edinburgh course and clubhouse in 1953.

[32] This continued until 1927 when membership was widened to 'outsiders' with no family connection.

existing members might not have been keen to encourage family members, unlike Edinburgh Ladies'. Those ladies who took advantage of membership were not charged an entrance fee like Edinburgh Ladies' and were admitted on payment of an annual subscription of one guinea (£1.05). Ladies were classed as "ordinary" members and were regarded as a 'section' within the club.[33] The 'ladies' section' within a golf club had the advantage of being self regulating. Within their own sphere, they had a degree of autonomy in being able to elect their own officials to represent their interests. They adopted many of the same formalities as their male counterparts, a constitution, the organisation of competitions with prizes, a dinner where trophies were presented and other social occasions where members could meet. There was also a degree of internal separation within areas of the clubhouse. With no formal representation on the Council[34], however, they were not entitled to attend the Annual General Meeting to vote on any proposals concerning the club.

5.2.3 Club records

The *Record of Scores* books relating to the ladies membership list the names of those who played in competitions and from these one can get an idea of how many took part, the type of competitions and the results. Within its first year a competition was organised when eight ladies played for the Erskine Rose Bowl trophy in November 1910.[35] This accounts for nearly half the membership at this time and indicates some interest in competition. It is clear from the records that this developed into a monthly competition played from March to November, with the bowl being awarded as first prize. The record also indicates that the membership of the ladies' section had increased in 1911 as thirty ladies entered for each of the competitions held in May, June and July. Of these, twenty-one were unmarried. While the age of these women is an unknown factor, the indication is that at this time single women were twice as likely to be competitors as married women. Each month saw more participating, reflecting an increase in interest as well as membership.

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[33] Ordinary members were equivalent to 'associate' members as referred to earlier in this chapter.
[34] The Council being the elected members (men only) who administered the golf club.
[35] This was presented to the ladies by Mrs Alexander Erskine on November 1 1909. A Miss Erskine appears as a competitor in many of the competitions, but Mrs Erskine was not a playing member.

5.2.4 Handicaps

From the scores returned between 1910 and the early 1920s, it is evident that the ladies in this club played off club handicaps.[36] When nine holes were played, scores were totalled and handicaps were halved. Until the early 1920s, the membership reflected a fairly high percentage of ladies with high handicaps and some with no handicaps at all. From the scores registered in competition, it appeared to take ladies between fifty and sixty strokes to play nine holes. This suggests that the standard of golf was not particularly high and indicates that there were certain difficulties attached to golf. Firstly, many of the members would have been beginners at the game. Learning to play golf required perseverance and patience. Secondly, this was a challenging though short course with several 'blind' holes (out of sight from the tee) which varied in length from between 110 to 406 yards. The Merchants of Edinburgh was laid out on the steep sided slopes of the two hills which had originally been farming land with undulations of ridge and furrow which were not advantageous to the golfer. A ball sent towards the target might not quite reach and roll back down hill, losing the player distance. Keeping the golf ball in play and out of gorse, trees and other such hazards was also a problem.

Along with other clubs, ladies appeared unwilling to adopt the LGU system of handicapping while playing competitively at their own club. This suggests that players tended to play mainly on familiar territory and did not often venture to play competitively at other clubs. By the early 1920s, the ladies were obviously preparing themselves for what could be a rather complicated process of working out reductions in handicaps. A handicapping committee of five ladies was formed in 1922 to address this matter.

When the ladies of the Merchants affiliated to the LGU in May 1924, the entrance fee was raised to fund the subscription. An entry fee now being required from the ladies, the annual subscription to the club was raised to 4 guineas (£4. 20) (Minute, MEGC Ladies' Section, July 1924). In 1925 the Merchants ladies paid 2 guineas (£2.10) in subscription to the LGU indicating that the club had under 100 members.[37] LGU handicaps were adopted when the official LGU monthly medal competition came into operation in 1925. It is from this time that the competitive side of golf increased and a number of new competitions were introduced.

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[36] See Chapter Three for reference to club handicaps.
[37] See Chapter Three.

5.2.5 Prizes for competition

While golf was considered as primarily a social game for many of the ladies, the officials in the ladies' section considered it important to strike a balance between encouraging friendly association amongst competitors and striving for a high standard of play in competition. In order to provide for diverse abilities and standards, a variety of competitions evolved with prizes in the form of trophies, silver spoons and small sums of cash. Some of the prizes were presented by male as well as female members, either for a specific reason, or to commemorate a particular occasion. Engraved silverware in the form of cups and plates provides not only a historical record, but the contents of a trophy cabinet in a clubhouse can reveal the material wealth of those who presented the trophies. As in other sports such as curling and archery, golf prizes could be costly. Burnett and Lewis (1996:119) indicate that "the earliest known golfing medal was a gold medal of a value of seven guineas which was a prize at St Andrews in 1771". Trophies were an important aspect of the game and for some golfers an incentive to compete for what was often a significant tangible reward.

The winners of each medal competition at the Merchants received a spoon.[38] The Parkinson Trophy was subsequently awarded to the winner of the overall medal finals for those with handicaps of 20 and over in the Bronze division. The Erskine Rose Bowl (referred to above) was the corresponding trophy awarded to the winner of the medal finals with a handicap of under 20 in the Silver division. Each trophy presented would be engraved with the winner's name; however, the trophy would remain in the possession of the club, an indication of the value put on such material objects. From the 1920s, in addition to the spoons for medal winners, cash prizes were awarded. In 1928, the value of the first 'scratch' prize for competitions was 10/- (50p) with handicap prizes of 10/-, 7/6 and 5/- (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, April 1928).

As higher standards were achieved, players contested for the title of Ladies' Champion. The first Championship took place in 1925 with the best eight 'scratch' scores qualifying from the Spring Meeting. The winner was presented with a shield

[38] While some clubs refer in their terminology to 'medals' and a silver medal is the prize presented to the winner of the monthly competition, other clubs refer to these competitions as 'spoons' and awarded their winner with a silver spoon.

and gold badge. The trophy became known as the 'Cruttenden Championship Shield' in recognition of the generosity of its donor, Mrs E.J.Cruttenden. At the end of the summer golf season the ladies gathered for an official presentation of golf prizes. This was a formal occasion and became an annual event from 1926 with the wife of the club captain presenting the prizes. Burnett and Lewis (1996:124) indicate that club prizes "emphasise the central role of competition" and are a tangible reward for effort. However, as in all amateur sports, the taking part was more important than winning.

5.2.6 Ladies' committee

Until 1918, when Mrs Cruttenden became secretary, there is no record of anyone specifically having been appointed to act as secretary for the ladies' section, although it is clear from the records that the ladies conducted their business separately from the men with their own officials organising their competitions within times specified by the Council of the club. As no Minute Books exist for the ladies before 1922, one must assume that the Annual Meeting held on March 28 1922 was the ladies' first *official* AGM. The Minutes record that at this meeting there was an election of office-bearers for the ladies' section, comprising of a captain, a secretary and seven committee members (Minute of the Ladies' section March 1922). While the post of captain was for a two year period, the secretary was elected for an unspecified period. Mrs Cruttenden had already been in the post of secretary for four years and retired in 1929 after ten years. In recognition of her loyal service, a presentation was made to her by the club members at a mixed whist drive in the clubhouse, where she received "a bag containing notes" (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section January 1929).

In the early 1900s, ladies taking on official positions of office might have had little practical experience of how a ladies' golf club should be managed but help was available. Boys and Mackern (1899:42) suggested that the captain should always "lead" but never "drive". Amy Bennet Pascoe in the same publication considered that it was often the "officials" of the club who had "more effect on the club's well being than the nature of the links and the strongest membership". She was convinced that they marked out a good club from an indifferent one.

> "It is theirs to lead and manage; slackness, indifference and self-interest will cause an important club to go down, while a knowledge of the game, courtesy and a real sporting spirit will raise a small one to first-class rank" (Boys and Mackern 1899:113).

In many instances the success of a particular club would be judged on the commitment of club officials. Perhaps a little idealistically, May Hezlet (1907:201) considered that a secretary "should be business like in her dealings with members" and be patient, tactful and courteous and ready to "persevere steadily content with little thanks or praise". If the interest and time spent in the organisation and administration of the club was evident, then it was thought that a club should have fewer problems in recruiting and keeping members contented and united. Between 1929 and 1937, four secretaries gave their services for short periods which indicates this position required time as well as tact.

5.2.7 Categories of membership and conditions of play for ladies

From the 1920s, there were two categories of lady members at the Merchants; 'ordinary' members and 'restricted' members.[39] The 'ordinary' members paid a subscription, which was correspondingly less than the men's reflecting less allocation of access to the course. The 'restricted' members paid a smaller subscription. This type of membership suited less competitive players and those who did not necessarily want to acquire handicaps. Ordinary members could play anytime on Sundays, Mondays and Thursdays, while on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays, play was permitted until 5.30p.m. This gave ladies daytime access except on a Saturday. Weekday evenings and weekends were considered the time when men who had been working all week would play. Saturdays were traditionally reserved as the men's competition day and ladies were only allowed on the course after 6 p.m. There is little evidence to suggest that women felt aggrieved at the situation. Few of the 98 lady members in 1928 were in paid employment (*The LGU Official Year Book* 1928).

Throughout the 1930s requests were made by members for additional playing times for lady members. These were discussed by the ladies' committee first, before being submitted to the scrutiny of the Council. A concession was made for play on a Saturday afternoon during the winter months (November to February) and this was granted (Minute of the MEGC Ladies' Section, April 1930). However a major move came in 1937 in re-allocating playing time for ladies when the Council granted the ladies permission to play their Spring, Summer and Autumn meetings on a Saturday instead of the usual Thursdays beginning at 4 p.m. (Minute of MEGC Ladies'

[39] There is no record of the proportion of 'ordinary' to 'restricted' members.

Section April 1937). This was a major breakthrough for the ladies to have three of their main competitions played on a Saturday and some recognition that there were women in paid employment, although it has to be said that these women were only a small part of the membership at this time.

5.2.8 Social golf

From a study of the Minute Books and the *Record of Scores* books from the ladies' section, it is clear that in this early period there was considerable concentration on social golf. Some of the competitions were played over nine holes, which suited the more elderly members who did not want to play a full round. As well as the regular monthly medals, competitions of a less serious nature formed part of the fixture list. A "Flag Foursomes" handicap competition was played in 1929 when players chose their own partners, paid an entry fee of sixpence (about 2p) and played for prizes donated by the members. The first two couples carried a small flag and 'planted' it on the course at the point where they had used up their joint stroke allowance. The winners were the couple who took the flag the furthest distance (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section July 1929). Playing in a partnership was one way for ladies to get to know each other socially, as well as assessing each other's standard of play. Foursomes competitions were popular with many of the members and it was here that social bonds, partnerships and friendships developed between women.

In 1929 arrangements for a "fun day" were reported. The Minutes give little information other than that "preparations" had been made to hold the event on June 29 1929. (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, May 1929) The date suggests this was to mark twenty years of the ladies as members. Nothing is reported on the outcome of the event in the Minutes but, from visual evidence, it appeared to have been a day of pitching and putting competitions and socialising involving both ladies and gentlemen. A photograph of the event shows members involved in a target putting competition with circles marked out on the 18th green. **Fig.9**

In the 1930s ladies who had not formed their own particular playing group were given the opportunity of meeting for a game on a specific day and time. This had been the idea of the ladies' committee and it was recorded that "one afternoon would be set aside for any lady member who had no partners and wished to play. Tuesdays at 2 p.m. was the time fixed upon" (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, April 1932). This indicates that there was a desire amongst those established members to include

new members and integrate them into the club rather than leave them feeling isolated. This was one way of offering a hand of friendship to those who were less outgoing. In this way women joining the club could widen their circle of social as well as sporting contacts.

5.2.9 Mixed golf and social events

In the early days and more especially in the 1920s and 30s, there appears to have been little in the way of competitive interaction with the men in the club which seems unusual in that many of the women would have family connections. There is no mention of mixed competitions. While it has already been established that mixed golf was popular in other clubs such as Edinburgh Ladies' and Craigmillar Park, it is surprising that in what appears to be a fairly social club one must conclude that the ladies were expected to play amongst themselves. However, the ladies appeared to have good relations with the junior members of the club. Boys could become junior members from the age of eleven and a match with the boys was initiated in 1929. The boys were reckoned to play to a higher standard than the ladies so a 'bisque' system of handicapping was given to the ladies in order to give a measure of fairness.[40] The bisque system allowed the receiver of strokes to use them at the holes of her choice instead of receiving them at specific holes as laid down on the card of the course. As this was seen to be an advantage, the receiver was normally given fewer bisques than she would an allowance of ordinary strokes (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, June 1929). In the inaugural match the first four ladies received four bisques and the second four, six bisques. The result, despite the bisques, was a win for the Juniors over the ladies of four and a half to three and a half. In 1936, the ladies avenged their past defeats by beating the Juniors by five matches to one (*Record of Scores* Book 3, June 1936).

Although the Merchants ladies might not have been encouraged to play alongside the men in the early years, as far as the social side of the club was concerned there was plenty opportunity for getting together. The men were great supporters of the social events and attended the dances and whist drives which were a regular feature of winter evenings. Keeping members in touch with one another during winter months was important when they were perhaps less likely to be meeting on the golf

[40] The term 'bisque' is of French origin from the 17th century and is also used in real tennis and croquet. *Collins Concise English Dictionary* defines it as an extra stroke, point or turn allowed to an inferior player, usually taken when desired.

course. The ladies were called upon to organise the social events for the whole membership, a reflection of the traditional female role. The club house was utilised for these events with an average of 65 members attending. Refreshments were supplied by the club staff. Dances which had been one of the major social events in the 1920s, were replaced in the 1930s by whist and bridge drives. Whist and bridge drives were considered official enough to be put on the fixture card with admission tickets having to be purchased. As with many middle-class clubs, there was an emphasis on charitable giving. These events gave members an opportunity to support local charities and donate the profits to good causes. The Balgreen Fund, established for the relief of poor children in Edinburgh, was one of the charities to benefit in the 1920s. On another occasion, a sum of £10 was sent to the Royal Infirmary Special Appeal Fund (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, February 1931). With the profits made from social events going to local charities, a suggestion was made in April 1934 that a national charity might benefit. The National Playing Fields Association, set up to provide funds for more public access to sport, was suggested as a beneficiary, but surprisingly the ladies did not seem to favour removing their allegiance from local charities to one which was supported nationally (Minute of the MEGC Ladies' Section, October 1934). The Merchants obviously believed in the old adage that that 'charity begins at home'.

5.2.10 Outings

For the majority of lady members, in the 1920s and 30s, going off for a day's golf outside Edinburgh was as much a social event as a sporting one and the middle class equivalent of a 'works' outing. For the convenience of all, the time of year and the days chosen tended to coincide with local public holidays. The Merchants ladies travelled to different courses for their golf outings using public transport. Few of the Merchants ladies had access to cars and had to rely on public transport at this time. This might mean covering lengthy distances from train station to the golf course. Mitchell (1993:106) in the club history of Kilspindie Golf Club refers to "a group of lady golfers who would travel to Aberlady by train, walk from the station to Kilspindie, then after two rounds of golf, walk to the train terminus at Port Seton", a round trip of about ten miles.

The choice of courses such as North Berwick, Dunbar and Aberdour were much frequented by families from Edinburgh as holiday destinations. If the date of the outing coincided with the local Edinburgh 'Victoria Day' public holiday in May,

those who were not able to manage to have a whole day away because of family commitments, were welcomed to play in the afternoon competition. Burntisland was the choice of venue for the autumn outing in September 1929, with the date chosen to coincide with the Edinburgh Autumn holiday (Minute of the MEGC Ladies' section July 1929).

5.2.11 Inter-club matches and competitions

Merchants ladies became involved in playing 'friendly' matches against other ladies' clubs from the 1920s. Pleasure and social contact was the main idea with the object being to foster good relations with other clubs. The competition was only a secondary element. Matches against Baberton and Liberton became annual fixtures, as did others against Comiston and Dunbar from 1924. Corstorphine became involved in June 1926 and Lothianburn in 1930, while in 1933, Swanston and in 1936, Ingliston joined the list of clubs playing matches against the Merchants. As well as developing social bonds with other lady golfers it was considered valuable to give members experience of playing other courses. When matches were played 'at home', guests were entertained to tea in the clubhouse afterwards. In order to help towards the costs of hospitality for visiting clubs, a proportion of profits raised at the whist drives and dances throughout the year was set aside. As Marjorie Whitton (SA 1996.53), a Merchants member testifies, some clubs were renowned for their catering and the clubmistress at the Merchants in the 1930s, was famed for her high teas with bacon, eggs and home baked scones.

With a full card of club competitions, as well as regular matches with other clubs, the Merchants also took part in team events. A major inter-club handicap competition was established in Midlothian in 1930 when Mrs Morison Millar, an Edinburgh councillor who had an interest in golf, presented a cup.[41] This event was open to teams of four ladies representing Midlothian clubs. The Merchants entered two teams to play over the Baberton Golf Course on July 3 1930 for the inaugural competition. This tournament developed over the years and became the most prestigious handicap tournament in the Lothians. **Fig.10** Marjorie Whitton considered it the highlight of the golfing calendar.

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[41] In 1931, the same Councillor, Mrs Morison Millar, presented the ladies of the Merchants with a silver bowl which the committee decided should be awarded to the winner of the Hole and Hole Competition (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, April 1931). There is no evidence to suggest that Mrs Morison Millar had a particular connection with the Merchants club, but she certainly appeared keen to encourage ladies to play competitive golf.

> "Well I feel in the old days everybody was so keen and they would do everything, in fact in the Morison Millar you could have three teams and three lots of caddies without any bother. You had to watch they got offended "oh but I wanted to caddie and I don't think I'm going to be able because there are too many people" and you really had to watch. And they all wanted their supper "oh well if I can't caddie I'm coming for my supper. You order a supper" (laughs). But that was wonderful, you see that was the club" (Marjorie Whitton SA 1996.53/54).

Supporting the club in ways like this whether as players, caddies or spectators was an important aspect of participation in club life.

As indicated in the introduction to this thesis,[42] the way women came to participate in golf is of primary concern. Joining a golf club and becoming involved in the organisation of it was one important aspect. From a male as well as a female perspective first hand observations of club life from members familiar with this club give one an insight into what the club was like from the 1940s onwards. Their observations can add supplementary evidence to the more formal statistical data of the official sources. Mae Charles, Marjorie Whitton and Alice Clark[43] have been members of the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club for almost sixty years. **Figs.11-13** All joined in the 1940s and are former Lady Captains and Lady Champions. Their enthusiasm for golf is what initially brought them into the membership of the golf club and the pleasure which they have experienced through friendships made and their achievements in and beyond the club are tempered with some acute observations on the changes they have seen regarding the membership of the club. The attitude of others who have since joined, as well as the intolerance of some men in the club, to the pursuit of equality in golf are subjects on which they have experience and opinions.

5.2.12 Club life 1940 - 1960 - Membership during wartime

Of all the male members at the Merchants, one figure associated with the club since 1921 witnessed many changes in the development of the course as well as in the administration of the club. Mr William Skene (b.1899), a former Captain and for twenty years the Secretary, was able to throw some light on the difficulties

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[42] See Chapter One.

[43] Marjorie Whitton and Alice Clark have already been referred to in Chapter Four.

surrounding the golf club especially at the beginning of the 1940s. As a youngster he had always been inclined to sport and took up golf first by playing in the public park.

> "I had a mid iron, a 3 iron nowadays. On the odd occasion two of us would go down to Saughton and pay a penny for nine holes, but how we got on I have no recollection. I took it up after the war [First World War] and taught myself from Harry Vardon's book ... we got the odd club. Cunningham was the clubmaker, a top class clubmaker and a guinea was the cost of a made-to-measure driver" (Interview, March 21 1990).

According to him it was no easy task keeping a club running during wartime without the majority of members to support it. The poor state of the course because of the lack of greens staff was a factor in the cancellation of regular competitions. Mr Skene recalled his efforts to help.

> "You see there were so many away at the war. I was secretary then and I think we had one greenkeeper and ... I did give a hand. Nobody ever thought of giving a hand. I had a go at cutting the greens and driving the tractor and I had never driven a tractor before ... I was cutting the eighth [fairway], well the tractor didn't have the power it has now and up at the green it stuck and of course the cutters pulled it back and they got in a tangle and it took me about an hour and a half to untangle these and I learned then you should go up the top and come down ... and cutting the greens, it was manpower ... " (Interview, March 21 1990).

Organising competitive play during the period of the Second World War was not without its problems. Despite Mr Skene's efforts, part of the golf course had to be utilised and ploughed up for production and it became impossible to consider playing competitions under the rules of the LGU on a regular basis. However it was felt important not to have a complete lapse of competition during the war and women not directly involved in war work organised competitions in aid of war charities. This was one way of contributing to the war effort. With so many men involved in war duties, women were very important in keeping the club functioning. The economic effects of war made the contribution of their annual subscription important. For this reason the club increased its intake of lady members to around 200 during the war. (*LGU Official Year Book* 1948) According to Mr Skene, "If it hadn't been for lady members, you wouldn't have had any club today ... because we wouldn't have had the money" (Interview, March 21 1990). Lady members received playing concessions at this time and were able to play on a Wednesday evening and from 4 p.m. on a Saturday. With so many of the male members absent, the course was underused and

there were no objections to this situation. However this was to be short-lived as 'normal' playing times for the ladies were restored after the war and a request for an extra night for play was not granted.

15.2.13 Reasons for joining

In the 1940s, the cost of membership, the access to equipment, the location, accessibility of the club, the playing times available to women and family commitments were all important considerations for women who wanted to play golf. For some women, joining a golf club was not without some initial problems. Mae Charles (b.1914), joined the Merchants during the Second World War. Her husband was a member and she had often walked round with him and another friend observing them play. When she tried to hit the ball at first, it was with great difficulty, although she had been a former hockey, cricket and tennis player.

> "After six swipes it was still there and Jack said to me, "you played hockey Mae, didn't you, well hit the ball!" ... I took a hockey swing and the ball went right up the fairway. That's why I never had a full swing in my life. From then on I was hooked!" (Interview, 1990).

Being keen on sports, she might have considered taking up golf earlier, but the cost of bag, clubs and golf shoes was a deterrent for her, but one that was overcome with the loan of some second-hand equipment from the club. As she was in the Fire Service during the war, working at Colinton Road, she occasionally lodged at the clubhouse during her time off, so she had plenty of opportunity to go out and practise on the course.

Alice Clark (b.1919) decided to join the Merchants during the war knowing that she had a school friend who was already a member of the club. She had no family connection with the club but lived nearby. Alice taught herself to play and did not consider at this time getting lessons from a professional.

> "The only instruction I got was from my brother who gave me a grip, he told me how to grip ... that was absolutely all, but for anything else, I simply went to the library and picked out a book which was Pam Barton and of course followed her" (Alice Clark, SA 1996.55).

Pam Barton, an English golfer, had written a 'moving picture' instructional golf book for ladies with a series of photographs which, when the pages were flicked over, gave

the impression of the golf swing in motion.[44] Alice maintains it was the only way she could learn at that particular time and coming from a working class background where there was little money to spare, the cost of equipment was a difficulty, let alone lessons from a professional.[45] Alice had to rely at first on borrowed clubs, reading instructional books on golf and watching other ladies' techniques. Eventually her mother, who was employed as a domestic servant, saved up enough to buy a second-hand set of clubs for her.

> "Yes, she got them second hand somewhere. They were Thornton's, so later on as years came I could get another set from Thornton's. True Arc, I think they were called" [46] (Alice Clark, SA 1996.55).

Marjorie Whitton (b.1924) lived close by the course and saw advantages in belonging to a club with which her family was connected. Her grandfather had been a founder member and her father and mother were also members so she was familiar with the club from an early age.

> "Yes he [her father} always said I had a good swing, but like most girls I played tennis and badminton in the winter.
> *And was that at school?*
> No you see unfortunately the war came on when I was at school and everything came to a halt and there was no [junior] membership at the Merchants either at that time. The ladies who were there just played along and kept the course going because the men were all away and it was in 1947 when I joined as a full member ... when I joined it was all tennis in those days, the girls just didn't play golf and when I joined the Merchants I was about the youngest there for a long time" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996. 53 & 54).

Marjorie worked in an office and gradually acquired her golf clubs from her earnings which at the end of the 1940s were around £4 a week.

> "The first clubs I got were 'Gleneagles' and you saved up for them. You got your driver and then maybe at Christmas time if you were lucky you got maybe ... a spoon, that was a 3 wood. There was no 4 wood or anything like that, there were two wooden clubs and then you went down. I just had a half set always 3, 5,7, 9 and a putter and you just bought them gradually ... They cost a £1 each ... I eventually got a caddie car, I don't

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[44] See Bibliography.
[45] See Chapter Four.
[46] Thornton's was one of the main sports shops in Edinburgh at this time stocking a variety of golfing equipment.

> use it now at all. But you had to have good shoes. You must have waterproof shoes, that was more important than the clubs and a jacket that kept out the water and a waterproof skirt, you simply had to have that" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

If young women in their late teens and early twenties joined a golf club hoping to meet women of the same age, they would have found difficulty as the social attractions of tennis clubs had more to offer females than the membership of a golf club. The age factor is an important one as tennis clubs tended to attract girls and young women, whereas golf did not have a young image and with girls enjoying the company of their peers, it is little wonder that golf clubs had difficulty in attracting a younger age group. It is evident from this time that fewer single women were members than had been the case in the early years. Two thirds of the competitors recorded as playing in the medal competitions from 1947 were married women (*Record of Scores* Book 3 1936-1952). The female membership of the Merchants in the 1940s was mainly non working middle aged married women who played their golf during the day and whose husbands' were also members. Some of these golfers were social golfers like Marjorie Whitton's mother.

> "She was a restricted member, she never really played much. She's in some of these photos.
> *So did she get to quite a high standard?*
> Reasonably good oh yes, she wasn't a beginner by any means. But she wasn't interested enough to get a handicap. She had her own friends" (Marjorie Whitton SA 53& 54).

In the 1940s, there were only a few women members in the early twenties age group. If there had been other girls of her own age playing golf, Marjorie might have considered joining before the war, but there was no junior girl category at this club. According to her, "Jenny Mitchell and Alice [Clark] were probably as near my age as anybody" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996. 53). Boys tended to play golf amongst themselves and until she became acquainted with other female members, she played with her father. Being an only child, Marjorie's experience was that her parents were able to pay for her to have lessons from the club professional, Tommy Allan. Before being appointed to the Merchants in the 1940s Tommy Allan had been the professional at Swanston. According to William Skene, he was a very competent golfer.

> " ... he could stand up on that first tee and he could drive the first green ... Tommy could do that with any old 'tattie' and an old club. He had a beautiful swing he was a very good teacher and he just charged sweeties.

> And if there was someone on the first tee, he would come across and offer advice free gratis and for nothing, just that wee bit alteration. He was very, very popular" (Interview, March 21 1990).

Professionals attached to private clubs conducted formal lessons at a cost of about 10/- (50p) but were often prepared to demonstrate their skills for the benefit of members.

5.2.14 Social status of women members in paid employment

When Marjorie joined the club, she maintains that knowing your place and where you stood in relation to your elders was expected, as was winning their approval with one's golfing ability.

> "They were all morning players and of course I was working. I wasn't married at that time and they ruled the roost ... very nice but you were only allowed to do certain things" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Interestingly it was the married women in the club who controlled the ladies' section and maintained their authority over newer younger members. Married women who did not have paid employment outside the home could wield a certain amount of power and had more time to devote to conducting the business of the ladies' section. They were the ones who were elected on to the ladies' committee and had the say over what went on regarding the ladies' section. As younger women members who were part of the working community were in the minority, problems associated with their access to the course was not considered important. For 'non-workers', playing in the medals meant 'teeing off' during the day and being able to complete the round. But for working women like Marjorie, who was a shorthand typist in a legal office, it was a question of rushing to the course after a day's work and trying to compete for space with other members. Marjorie considered this a problem.

> "Very rarely did we get finished. It was always dark before we got finished. The only medals you could really play in were June and July. Sometimes if you managed to get off sharp you managed it in May. September was a dead loss. But even the August one it was difficult to get finished in time because the course was very, very busy at that time" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Some players, according to Marjorie, did leave to join other clubs which were thought more considerate to lady members.

> "A few people left because of it. Jenny [Mitchell] actually left. She went to Craigmillar Park or Lothianburn she went to first I think ... because they didn't have so many ... [restrictions]" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Alice Clark found that playing in medals was a problem for her as well, as she worked in the Post Office and until the advent of 'flexi' working came into practice, she also had difficulty in getting to the course in time for the competition draws. The idea of drawing for partners was deemed to be a way of controlling fair play and was considered more inclusive.

The status of women members in paid employment was not considered an issue in the early 1950s and competitions were centred round those who had access to the course during the day. At Kilspindie in East Lothian, a club which Alice also joined in the late 1950s, class status was more evident. Most of the members in that club were part of the 'county set' and their attitude to a woman who was in paid employment was one of curiosity.

> "Well may I say straight away, I was working-class myself but perhaps ... Well I will say this especially in Scotland I would say that clearly that the day I joined Kilspindie and I arrived I thought I didn't know what had hit me, I really realised that I was in amongst 'the county [set]' ... It is not so evident today. I was accepted because I was 'silver' when I joined Kilspindie. I was a fairly confident golfer. Perhaps if I had not been, they might have been different. I must say I never had any animosity towards me. The only thing I got was, what did I do, what did I work at, as if they didn't know much about, the world of work. I was a Civil Servant but they didn't seem to appreciate what I was doing or what I did, they just didn't seem to know ... They had not worked and most of them had their daily helps or they certainly had domestic helps and what not ... " (Alice Clark, SA 1996. 55).

In many respects these women who had never had to earn a living were unaware that paid employees had little choice of when to play golf. Women who 'worked' were considered unusual so there was little reason to demand any change for a minority. It could be argued that since playing times had been fixed, any direction for change was unlikely to come from women who were happy with the way things were. If she wanted to continue to be a member of Kilspindie, Alice had to comply with the rules or take a day's leave.

> "I had to work that out very carefully, so's I could get a day off. When I eventually went on to being on Salaries that was very difficult. In fact I didn't get off then because you couldn't be spared from Salaries ... I qualified for the Championship once or twice and when I suggested that I play on a Saturday, they just about fainted (laughs).
> *So what did you do then?*
> Well we had to suggest sort of four o' clock or get time off to do it. I'd leave the office about three" (Alice Clark, SA1996.55).

Having a job curtailed golf to some extent at the Merchants for Alice and Marjorie as ladies' tee times were restricted to certain days and hours. Any request of a formal nature had to be directed through the Council of the club. If the ladies' section wanted to change or amend any proposal from the membership regarding playing provision or clubhouse facilities, the procedure was as follows. At the ladies' AGM, the male officials of the club, captain, vice captain and secretary were normally present to hear requests. These were then discussed by the Council and a formal written intimation given of any decisions made.

In 1954 the issue of Saturday medal play was discussed when the ladies' committee realised that there had been an increase in the membership of 'working women' or 'business girls' as they were now known. The Council agreed to the first medal of the season being played on a Saturday instead of a weekday (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, January 1954).[47] This was a major concession for Marjorie, Alice and the other 'business girls' who were now able to compete, whereas the previous year only three of them had entered for the April medal.

Despite the restrictions on playing time imposed by club rules, Marjorie enjoyed competing, but she did feel aggrieved that she had to wait an unnecessarily long time before the ladies' committee considered her able enough to represent the club.

> "You weren't encouraged to play in the matches. Now I used to think, I got my handicap down quite well and I used to think you know, I should really be playing in the matches, but it was always the same people and when it came to playing in the Morison Millar [Tournament] I felt rather hard done by as I should have played in that and I didn't get the chance" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996. 53 & 54).

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[47] It is difficult to indicate exactly how many lady members were in the 'business girl' category. They were still a minority by the mid 1950s.

The idea that 'you had to earn your spurs' and wait in line behind those who had been around and were well established was prevalent in ladies' golf at this time. Women did not always treat each other equally. Although being part of an enclave within the club united women in one way, those women who had power could use it to the detriment of others. Those who had influence on the committee made the decisions about who would be chosen for the teams to represent the club. Despite the fact that Marjorie felt she was held back from representing the club at this point, she could understand the reasons behind this. As she said, you had to be a certain standard.

> "Nora Scott was the secretary and she was always very firm, "you must learn how to play golf" and she was great on etiquette and she was quite right because that is lacking today. "You must learn the background of golf and you must learn to be proficient. You must learn the rules and then you get a handicap and then you play in the medals". So you see this took about two years before you got round all this" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Knowing your place and where you stood in relation to your elders was a consideration, as was winning their approval. Standards and protocol were strictly observed as was a respect for age and wisdom. To some women in the 1990s this might seem old fashioned, but this expectation of attaining a certain standard of play was the way things were done after the war. Observing golfing etiquette and instilling manners in youngsters from an early stage prevented standards from slipping. After a time Marjorie was given the chance to represent the club in matches, as well as the Morison Millar and the Inter-Club Tournaments. Marjorie, now considered one of the senior members, can see that some of the 'younger' members who have joined the club in recent years are very inexperienced in matters of procedure.

> "Some of them hit the ball very nicely, but lack knowledge of the rules when it comes to knowing what to do in a particular situation" (Marjory Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

While it could be argued that clubs do not appear to place the same importance on learning rules and observing etiquette, younger members perhaps lack the same sense of traditional values that were viewed as appropriate amongst those of Marjorie's generation. This reflects a change in attitude towards the standards of behaviour in society in general.

5.2.15 Motivation of individuals

As has already been observed in the establishment of the organised bodies of ladies' golf, the individual with motivation and drive was usually behind any move for instigating change. The importance of a secretary and her enthusiasm in carrying out her duties was thought to be one of the reasons, according to Marjorie Whitton, why the Merchants club flourished after the Second World War. The ladies' section had been administered from 1938 to 1946 (including the war years) by Mrs Pullen. From 1947, Mrs Nora Scott took over the role of honorary secretary and recorded full and comprehensive accounts of the committee meetings and the AGM in the Minute books.

One could argue that the enterprise and efficiency of a particular individual often had more effect than a collective movement or committee. The secretary, usually the driving force in any organisation and directly with the membership, can often instigate the process of change. In the Merchants, Nora Scott was regarded as being a committed individual and Marjorie Whitton maintains that it was Mrs Scott who was responsible for the introduction of junior girls into the membership of the Merchants in the early 1950s.

> "They all had daughters you see, Margaret Scott and Audrey Hastings and Jean Ramsay and I can't remember all their names, but when the girls got to be eighteen you see [they asked], "why can't our daughters be members? Juniors can be boys and girls'. See, they were right, they were really quite right. And of course Willie Skene was ... you know what he was like, but they insisted and they got the girls in and that's how the junior girls came into being" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

As has been argued in Chapter Four, the prime motivation for girls to play golf came from the family and those members with daughters were persistent. A minute indicated that, "Subject to this being passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Club', it was hoped to admit twenty-five girls to the Junior Section of the club" (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, March 1950). Because her daughter and others were showing an interest, Nora Scott initiated the initial movement to encourage this club to accept girls as members. She further encouraged girls (as has already been discussed) by involving those who were not allied to a particular club through Hazelmount Golf Club.[48]

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[48] See Chapter Four.

Mrs Scott was also the prime mover in instituting an Inter-Club Tournament for ladies in the Edinburgh area in 1956. From 1948, under the auspices of Midlothian County Ladies' Golf Association, teams of five were regularly competing against other clubs on a league basis (*Record of Scores* Book 3, 1948). Mrs Scott was requested by Midlothian Ladies' to try and inaugurate an inter-club tournament for women on the same lines as the men's and youths' tournament. She called a meeting of all the lady secretaries of course-owning clubs in Edinburgh in January 1956 when the proposal was discussed and plans submitted to the Councils of the various golf clubs.

The inter-club was run as a foursomes match play tournament[49] and played annually on courses in Edinburgh in an alphabetic rotation. It was agreed at the inaugural meeting that no trophy would be presented. However a few years after the tournament was well underway, Ingliston Ladies' Golf Club, which had wound up in 1959 due to the expiry of its lease, offered one of their trophies as a gift. The Merchants gave Mrs Scott the authority to vote on their behalf to accept this trophy, but the inter-club committee decided on reflection to reject the suggestion, wanting to maintain the original conditions of the tournament (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, December 1959). It is unusual in this instance that no tangible award was considered until the 1970s when a silver plate was purchased and suitably engraved.

5.2.16 Women 'associate' members in other Edinburgh and East Lothian golf clubs

In golf clubs formed in the early 20th century, it would be true to say that the rules and regulations placed limits on women's participation in full. As 'associate' members, while they may have been given autonomy to operate within the ladies' section, they were not able to have any influence in the decision making process of the club itself. Clubhouse facilities such as smoke rooms and billiard rooms were restricted areas. In the Merchants, references are occasionally made by the ladies seeking permission to use the men's smoke room when for instance, larger numbers than normal wanted to attend the dinner and presentation of prizes. Access to this area for ladies was only available on these occasions with the special dispensation of the Council, otherwise the mixed lounge and small tea room, as well as the ladies' locker room, were the only areas open to them.

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[49] See Glossary for explanation of golfing terms.

One can gauge from the evidence of women in other clubs that similar circumstances were experienced. At Prestonfield Golf Club in south-east Edinburgh, ladies at one time were segregated within the clubhouse from the men.

> "We weren't allowed in the downstairs bar. We had to buy our drink at a wee hole in the wall and then walk back up the stairs [to the ladies' lounge]" (Ethel Jack, SA 1995.105).

This situation changed in the 1970s and the bar area opened up with men and women free to mix. But as Ethel Jack indicates, this was to the detriment of the male members.

> "Now we are allowed in thank goodness. The men at Prestonfield don't even have a dirty bar, [50] so everybody is thrown in together now. But the ladies have their own wee lounge upstairs, so I suppose in that way we are better off than the men now at Prestonfield" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.05).

Access to the course at all times is another issue which she feels strongly about and considers that restrictive playing times which have been in operation from the very early days now need to be examined again if equality is the goal.

> " ...but we are still strapped for times, because we have got to be off, [the course] but I just can't see if we all want to be members of a golf club and the men say "yes, you can have so many lady members, why can't we all just be the same and pay the same subscription and have the same rights on the course. To me it would solve an awful lot of problems. There wouldn't be the aggro that is caused by this differentiating against the sexes" (Ethel Jack, SA 1995.105).

Gullane Golf Club where Ethel Jack is also a member, has internal restrictions which allow access for men, but not for women.

> " ... there are a lot of rooms in that club that I'm not allowed to go into. There's also a silly rule which says that I cannot sit in the wee 'sit outerie' bit at the bar by myself, I've got to have a man with me. I could run out onto the street and find a tramp and ask him to come in and have a drink with me and I could sit there and drink, but I'm not allowed to sit there by myself" (Ethel Jack, SA 1995.105).

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[50] A dirty bar is a bar close by the course which men can walk straight into and get a drink without having to change out of their golfing gear.

Comparing these Scottish clubs with a club in the suburbs of London, it would appear that in the treatment of women, there was much in common. The ladies of Stanmore Golf Club as Holt (1998: 83-86) indicates, also lacked representation and restrictive playing times placed limits on their access to the course.

It was frequently argued in the Merchants that as women were not considered 'full' members of a club, paid lower subscriptions and had their own committee, they already had a degree of independence in running their own affairs and therefore the Council's time should not be taken up discussing additional requests. While it could be said that most women were prepared to accept the situation, Marjorie felt that because women lacked the opportunity afforded to the members (men), the club might be in danger of losing some of its female members to other clubs.

> "It's not a very good club for working people and these girls, well they all run their own cars now and they are not going to wait to four o'clock on a Saturday to play golf are they? That's one thing that will have to change if we get full rights I think" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

She had considered joining another club where she would have had greater scope to play on a more equal basis but was deterred.

> "I didn't drive you see I never had a car so it wasn't all that easy to get to other clubs. Probably if I had been a bit more mobile I would have joined somewhere else. I always had a hankering for Kilspindie because I like the course very much and it's a course you can play on for years and years" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Since this interview was conducted, the ladies of the Merchants have become full members, paying the same subscription as the men, being able to vote and having equal access to the course. However the issue of equality remains a subject provoking an ongoing debate.

5.2.17 A sense of belonging in the Merchants

It could be argued that based on the 'official' evidence available from the Minutes of the 1920s to 1940s, lady members of the Merchants appeared to be fairly contented with golf club life. With the emphasis on the fun and fellowship associated

with club life in the early period, social bonds were established giving the Merchants a reputation as a friendly and welcoming club to 'outsiders'. There was little evidence of demands for ladies to be treated differently. It is revealing that during this period the ladies seemed more concerned over the organisation of their social functions rather than with any power struggle with the men in the club concerning more representation. The general feeling is one of well-being. Small concessions in playing times were given from time to time by the Council and welcomed by the lady members. On the other hand, older club members known to Marjorie might have argued that the situation was somewhat different and women were powerless to push for any changes because of the determination of some of the male club officials to keep things the way they had always been. From what had been communicated to her, lady members were kept firmly in place in the 1930s by the club secretary, Mr Skene, who was noted for his firm stand on upholding rules.

> "He really ruled the place with a rod of iron and what he said went and he wasn't keen on us getting anywhere. He mellowed a lot in his later years" (Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53 & 54).

Accommodating the requests of women at that time might not have been considered important, but the men relied on the women for other aspects of club life which included the organisation of most of the mixed social events. Part of the profits from these events went towards improvements in the ladies' locker room, which were a saving for the Council, so it was advantageous for the men to support the social side of the club. In the early 1950s a full winter programme of social events which included beetle drives, whist drives, bridge drives, a table tennis tournament, parties and a dance were planned and carefully organised by the ladies' social committee, specially formed for this purpose. Many of these social functions brought members of both sexes together giving them the opportunity to get to know one another better

At times, it might have seemed that the ladies were always asking for some change in the decisions taken by the Council. An entry in the Minutes of a committee meeting indicated a feeling of frustration on a decision to turn down a request yet again.

> "The question of ladies being allowed to play on Saturdays at 3 p.m. during the winter months was reconsidered by the Council and the decision was the same as last year. No!" (Minute of MEGC Ladies' Section, April 1953).

Two years later the Council rescinded this decision after more pressure from the ladies, but it was conditional "on the understanding that they always give way to male members" (Bye-laws for Lady Members, March 1955). However the ladies' requests and suggestions were not always disregarded as in recognition of the club's Jubilee, an exhibition match was arranged between four well known Scottish lady golfers, Jessie Valentine, Jean Donald, Janette Robertson and Betty Singleton. This was a boost for the ladies'section as having the best female golfers of the day rather than the best male golfers playing over the Merchants was something of a coup.

> "We were all tickled with how difficult they found it to "club" themselves for this short course.[51] It was so narrow, but they were all charming and so friendly" (May Charles interview 1990).

For more than a century the golf club has been central to the way golf developed in Scotland and beyond. Clubs remain a fundamental part of golf central to the well-being of the game with the clubhouse an important firmament where members can retreat and enjoy the social aspects of golf. It has been argued that women have been given a certain degree of autonomy within their own section of most golf clubs. But while gender relationships within golf clubs have not always been harmonious it appears that while some change has occurred within the organisation of golf clubs, others continue to operate under the rules in which they were originally established. Ethel Jack is of the opinion that it is often women who find it difficult to accept any kind of change.

> " ... there are some women who don't want ... to change. They are quite happy to be the underdogs.
> *And who are they?*
> It's all the higher handicaps who are quite happy just to go and play their game on a Monday morning, a Wednesday morning and a Friday morning.
> *So we are really talking about people that are not workers, I mean people who have time to play.*
> We are talking about the 'ladies' now" (Ethel Jack, SA 1995.105).

It should be recognised as Hargreaves (1994:10-11) has argued, that there can be dissension among women. "Generalizations based upon women as a supposedly homogeneous group assume a spurious notion of consensus and ignore

[51] 'To club' means to know which club to play for distance.

discriminatory practices and competing interests … the wielding of power, not only between men and women, but between different groups of women and different groups of men as well". Divisions are not always based entirely on gender differences. For instance, marital status and age often acted as barriers to effective co-operation even within the gender enclave of a 'ladies' section' as has been seen in the Merchants, where issues affected the relationships between the 'working' as well as the 'non-working' members of the club were concerned. While the dominant image in golf is of men assuming the right of holding power and control, if divisions are historically embedded then social divisions revolving round old values mean changing rules and accepting that there has to be progress in order for clubs to survive in a form acceptable to all. The following chapter considers the attitudes concerning the interpretation of what was considered amateurism in golf from the early 20th century onwards.

Chapter Six

From Amateur To Professional - the 1880s to the 1980s

Having considered the structure of golf clubs and the importance attached to the rules and regulations which governed their operation, it would now seem important to consider more closely how women golfers were regarded in amateur sport. We have already acknowledged that social class was a major factor in the membership of golf clubs at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, with social credentials being taken into account as part of the vetting procedure for the compatibility of potential members. It is necessary in this discussion to consider some of the more proficient players who became increasingly involved in playing golf on an almost full-time basis. What were the problems for these women who could not afford either the time or money to play without receiving financial assistance of some kind? How did this affect their relationship with the governing bodies? Questions needed to be addressed from time to time to clarify the position of the amateur golfer regarding money and the acceptance or the non-acceptance of payment for writing about golf, selling golfing products, receiving products, prizes or expenses. These issues were brought before the governing bodies for debate. This chapter considers some of the complexities surrounding the status of women golfers as amateurs and professionals.

In the 19th century, the function of the male golf professional was to provide a service for club players, play in occasional money matches and in organised tournaments. The essential difference between amateurs and professionals was social rather than economic. The amateur sportsman as Cashmore (1990:175) indicates, was symbolic with all that was good in sport and had as an ideal "the production of pleasure" without consideration of materialistic ends, while the professional was "despised as someone who prostituted athletic exercises as a means of livelihood". Being an amateur separated those with leisure time, who played for love and enjoyment, from those who required to earn a living or receive compensation for their efforts in their sport. It was a form of class distinction. As Holt and Mason (2000:37) claim, a moral value was attached to sport by the middle-class who played, supposedly, "honourably and fairly". Holt (1989:350) indicates also that "amateurism

was both a code of ethics and a system of status" with an 'amateur' being regarded as a 'gentleman'.

6.1 Amateur status in the 19th century

Defining who was or was not an amateur made guidelines necessary. In 1886, the Championship Committee of the Grand National (later called the Amateur Championship) decided to define what they regarded an amateur golfer to be and established regulations regarding participation in order to protect this tournament.

> "A golfer who has never made for sale golf clubs, balls or any other article connected with the game; has never carried for hire, or received any consideration for playing in a match, or giving lessons in the game; and who, for a period of five years prior to the 1 September 1886, has never received a money prize in any competition" (Quoted from *Lady Golfer* October 1998: 27).

This was done in order to assert some control over who should be allowed to compete and distinguish the 'amateur' from the 'professional'. As Horace Hutchison[1] (1890:167) remarked, "everyone knows in their own mind what we mean by professional and what we mean by amateur. The trouble is to find words to define the idea". For women golfers there was little reason to be concerned about this as the women who participated in golf at this time viewed the game as a social activity and not one which would have involved them in making any financial gain. If they competed in tournaments, a small entry fee was paid and they were rewarded if successful with a trophy and other prizes of silverware, but receiving monetary prizes was not an issue. However Boys and Mackern (1899:94) suggest that in the early years of organised competitions, those who pursued prizes were looked down on as "pot-hunters" if "winning at all costs" was their criterion for taking part. This did not equate with the spirit of just taking part for the love of the game. The spirit of amateurism where respect for tradition was important and where players should receive no cash prizes was something the governing bodies of golf were at pains to uphold. Commercial gain was not part of the amateur ethos.

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[1] Hutchison was the British Amateur Champion in 1886 and 1887. He was a prolific writer on golf - see Bibliography.

6.2 Protecting amateur status in the early 20th century

In the first two decades of the 20th century, some of the issues concerned those employed in golf-related occupations. Protecting a code of ethics regarding amateur status was an important aspect as far as the governing bodies of golf were concerned. The R&A were concerned that golfers should fulfil amateur status regulations and reiterated what had been defined in the 1880s.

> "An amateur golfer is one who, after attaining the age of sixteen years, has never carried clubs for hire, who has never received any consideration for playing or teaching the game and has never played for a money prize in any competition" (Quoted from *The Gentlewoman* February 11 1911).

Therefore anyone who had caddied, or who had been paid in a teaching capacity or had received a monetary prize was deemed to be outwith the status of being an amateur. At this stage if a player were to recommend a particular ball or endorse a particular piece of clothing this did not appear to be unethical. However, there appeared to be some doubt as to what was viewed as ethical. If an ordinary player were to accept balls, clubs or golf merchandise, he or she was deemed to have broken the rules and was faced with the prospect of being barred from competing in future amateur competitions (Minute of the LGU December 1910). But Miss Dorothy Campbell, a well respected champion golfer from Scotland, was able to advertise and endorse a particular brand of golf clothing and was not considered worthy of any reprimand from the LGU.[2]

Another issue which caused some controversy was whether players should receive expenses while competing in county matches. There had been arguments within the LGU about whether amateur status regulations would be breached if players were to accept this kind of financial aid. Expenses in this case meant the cost of travelling and overnight accommodation if that was required for players who had long distances to travel. As acknowledged by Cossey (1984:85), Issette Pearson as secretary of the LGU considered in 1909 that paying expenses would make players professionals, that was until she had been informed "on the very best authority" that it did not affect amateur status. We understand that here she was referring to the R&A as the "authority" (Cossey 1984:85). With an increase in golfing activities and inter-county

[2] An advertisement for 'Beal's Speciality Golf Skirt' from H.A.Beal, Regent Street, London as endorsed by Dorothy Campbell, appeared in the *The LGU Official Year Book*, 1909.

fixtures around 1910, it had been suggested that the richer counties could afford to produce better teams if they received expenses. However it was decided at this time that financial aid of this sort should be rejected as "golf had never been a subsidised game" (Cossey 1984: 85). The "authorities" (and this included the LGU) at this time were in effect excluding those women who could not afford to represent their county.

The teaching of golf, and this included giving golfing lessons to students, was one matter which gave concern relative to the status of certain individuals. Ida Kyle of St Andrews had taught golf at St Leonards School during the First World War and by doing so had lost her amateur status. As she was earning an income by performing this type of teaching, she was considered to have broken the amateur rules. After the war she applied to the executive committee of the R&A to be reinstated as an amateur.[3] The outcome was that because of the circumstances of the war, Miss Kyle was considered to have "acted on patriotic grounds" and was re-instated as an amateur in 1920 (Cossey 1984:86). She in fact had taken on the job in order that a man could be released for war duty.

To endeavour to make clear to women golfers any misconceptions concerning the rules of amateur status, the LGU in 1920 asked that modifications to the definition be included. Two reservations were added, firstly, to make exceptions for school teachers who taught golf, provided they were bona fide teachers of educational subjects and secondly, that a player in a County match, or taking a scratch score on behalf of the LGU, would receive her expenses without forfeiting her amateur status.

> "A professional golfer is any player who has played for a money prize or has received payment for playing or teaching the game. Those who teach golf* for remuneration either by personal demonstration, or by lecturing, or by allowing themselves to be filmed. ***Without forfeiting her amateur status, a schoolmistress may receive a salary for teaching golf, provided she be a bona fide teacher of educational subjects"** (Quoted from *The LGU Official Yearbook* 1933: 31)

The exception of the school teacher was meant to cover circumstances similar to those of Miss Kyle at the time of the First World War.

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[3] The R&A had sole power to make a judgement in cases like these.

6.3 Writing about golf

As far as other monetary aspects of golf were concerned, women could write about golf and be financially rewarded for doing so. This might supplement some form of income for them but it did not earn them a living. Until the 1920s it had never been considered a problematic issue if women wanted to write about their experiences in golf and earn royalties for doing so. Several women players including Issette Pearson, Margaret Boys, Louie Mackern, May Hezlet, Cecil Leitch and Joyce Wethered all contributed advice and instruction through the publication of books and articles.[4] Miss Pearson, although concerned about the issue of expenses and monetary prizes, did not view receiving royalties in the same light. The LGU again sought clarification from the R&A in 1922 when the Rules Committee of the R&A after discussion and deliberation published an amended definition of an amateur golfer. The LGU were concerned that the status of free lance journalists who had written articles and published books would be affected. The amended rule stated that

> "An amateur golfer is one who, after attaining the age of sixteen years, has not received after December 31, 1922 a salary or remuneration, either directly or indirectly from any firm dealing in goods relating to the playing of the game" (Quoted from *Golf Illustrated* February 17 1923).

This information from the R&A assured the LGU that books and articles were not termed 'goods' and that journalists who wrote articles on the theory of golf were excluded from the clause. It was significant that this rule appeared after the retirement of Issette Pearson (one of those writers) as secretary of the LGU in 1919. The situation regarding royalties was to change in the 1930s. According to Joyce Wethered, falling foul of dictates from the LGU never arose until the 1930s. "There were no restrictions and at that time you wrote what you liked - there were very few books that gave instruction and I can only think that a rule was made later when those were being written" (Quoted from *Lady Golfer* October 1998:27).

There was some uncertainty about players who received payment for publications being barred from playing in amateur competitions. Amongst golfers themselves, there was uncertainty of what it meant to be 'exploiting' one's skill at the game.

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[4] Among the writers were M.Boys & L.Mackern (1899); May Hezlet (1904); Cecil Leitch (1911); Miss Starkie-Bence, (1898) and Joyce Wethered (1922). See Bibliography.

Jessie Valentine of Perth felt there were some 'grey areas' as to what you could and could not do as a golfer.

> " ... Enid Wilson, now what did she do? She wrote but she was never made a professional. I think you could write for a paper" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103 & 104).

In 1934, as reported by Cossey (1984:90), Enid Wilson, a leading English player, had written "captions of an instructional nature" for a series of photographs for which she had received payment. The R&A advised the LGU that Enid Wilson was in breach of receiving payment and was no longer eligible to play in amateur competitions. Eleanor Helme, a journalist and former player, brought the debate on the 'amateur' question to the fore in 1934 and questioned the LGU's attitude to it, on behalf of some of the best players like Enid Wilson, Molly Gourlay, Diana Fishwick and Wanda Morgan, who had all written articles on golf for which they had received payment. Depriving these players of representing their country, she argued, would have severe consequences for the future of women's golf. In an article published in the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* in 1934, Eleanor Helme asked "... if they refuse to pick for the international teams anybody who writes professionally on golf, whatever sort of team are we going to send to America?" She considered that writing articles on golf was "a perfectly legitimate and honourable way of earning a living (or adding to their income)". She was not concerned about a ban on herself as she had been a professional journalist for a long time and was no longer a team player, but she felt that the British team must be represented by the best players. Miss Helme wondered what the LGU was going to do if these players were passed over.

> "The last thing we want in golf is for the game to be played only by those who have endless money to spend on it ... The last thing we want in journalism is for golf to be described or commented on, by those who know nothing about it. Both these are real dangers" (*Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* April 7 1934).

6.4 Facing up to change

The LGU were coming under considerable pressure to recognise that circumstances for many women players had changed and in order to finance their golf they had to seek ways of funding themselves or being funded. Golf had already yielded to the forces of commercial pressure in the 1920s with certain financial pressures being put on the governing bodies of the amateur game. Gate money had been first introduced

at the Men's Amateur Championship at Prestwick in 1925 and in 1929 the ladies followed suit at their Championship at Formby.[5]

What were the problems encountered for players who played at county and national level and how should their golf be financed? The main question under discussion were the regulations governing who was or who was not an amateur. If the problems were not addressed then the women's game might suffer and not develop if the LGU continued to insist on applying the conditions laid down by their predecessors at the end of the 19th century.

6.4.1 The issue of receiving subsidies

The issue of players losing their amateur status if they accepted money for expenses when representing their country abroad, was addressed in 1931. Molly Gourlay, a former English champion, referred to a query which had been received by the R&A from the LGU, regarding players accepting invitations to play abroad with expenses being paid. The answer given in *Fairway and Hazard,* the official mouthpiece of the LGU, confirmed that "any player accepting such an invitation would be in danger of losing her status as an amateur" (January 3 1931:8). A party of girl golfers who were travelling to Florida were paying their own expenses, while others who had been invited to be members of the group had had to decline the invitation because of inadequate personal finance. Miss Gourlay considered it was time that the definition of an amateur should be altered in accord with the changing circumstances of current players. She was concerned that rich players would have an advantage over those who were "less well endowed". Would it not be better she argued, if the definition of an amateur golfer were changed to comply with changes experienced by society?

> "There are today many fine golfers who are handicapped by their lack of the necessary hard cash - for golf played seriously is no cheap amusement - and the more successful one may happen to be the more in proportion does it cost" (January 3 1931:8).

Taking into account the problems being experienced by golfers, changes were put into operation in 1934 regarding the paying of expenses. The clause now read:

> "Without forfeiting their amateur status, players may receive their travelling and hotel expenses when representing their Country, County,

[5] Joyce Wethered points this out in her autobiography (1933:188).

> Club (or similar body) in Team Matches when such expenses are paid by the body they represent; or when representing their Country in a Tour overseas provided such expenses are paid through the Authority controlling Golf in their Country" (*The LGU Official Year Book*, 1937:33).

6.4.2 Changes to definitions of status

Changes were also made to definitions of professional and amateur status by the R&A Rules Committee in 1934 after consultation with the home Golf Unions (including the LGU). This included rules on the status of amateurs which came into operation from January 1 1934 and were as follows:

AMATEURS

The following shall not be eligible to play in any Amateur Competition:-

1. Professional golfers.
2. Those who have carried clubs for hire after attaining the age of 18 years.
3. Those who exploit their skill at the game or allow their skill to be exploited for profit (Quoted from the *LGU Official Yearbook,* 1937:33).

In an article in *The Bystander* (December 27 1933:636), the golf journalist, F.G.L. Fairlie took issue with those who had levelled criticisms at the R&A and their new rule and argued that it was clear that those individuals who allowed their skill to be exploited for 'profit' should not be eligible to play in any amateur competition. By this he was referring to Clause 3 under the heading of AMATEURS and those who came within the provisions of this clause. He was concerned that the promising Scottish amateur, Jack McLean, who was employed by a sports retailing firm, would not "exploit his golfing ability on or off the links in order to further that of his employers". In order to evade the possibility of losing his amateur status, McLean had transferred from the golf ball department to another department. The same criterion was applied to Jessie Valentine, who was also restricted in what she could do when she worked in a sports shop in the 1930s.

> "Oh I wasn't allowed. I used to go and help father. Father had the sports shop, toy shop in Perth where Austin Reed is now, that was my father's shop and I used to go in at Christmas and I was dared to go up to the golf department! I had to go to the toy department in the basement ... I couldn't work in the golf shop, because that would have made me a pro,

> but now they can. In my day [the 1930s] you weren't allowed to" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103& 104).

A few of the leading English players had to work in order to offset the cost of playing competitive golf in the 1930s and for some of them it happened to be in golf-related occupations. Enid Wilson, winner British Ladies' Amateur Championship from 1931 to 1933, had taken a job in Lillywhites, the sports company and encountered a problem when she sent in her entry to the LGU for the 1934 Championship. They refused her entry form as she had broken the rules of amateur status and was now considered to be a 'professional'. Miss Wilson was not able to defend her title as Champion.

When players lost their amateur status in this way the only way they could play in amateur competitions was by invitation. Miss Wilson was invited to play in *The Bystander* Ladies' Foursomes tournament in 1934 at North Berwick. Criticism was made of the attitude of the LGU and a discussion ensued in the sporting periodical, *Golf Illustrated* over the decision of the R&A and the LGU, whom it was thought were being rather short-sighted in their attitude.

> "What a snub for St Andrews and the LGU by the inclusion of Miss Enid Wilson, who will be partnered by Mrs Hugh Percy an ex Scottish Champion! Miss Wilson, it will be remembered, was recently declared a professional by St Andrews, whereupon the LGU refused her entry for the Women's Championship at Royal Porthcawl. What is the matter with our golf rulers? They seem to revel in actions which are bound to discredit and bring ridicule" (*Golf Illustrated* June 8 1934:198).[6]

6.5 Financing representative teams

Sir Ernest Holderness, a former British Amateur Champion in the early 1920s, warned the LGU in 1931 of the "impending financial strain" of financing international matches. In his opinion, these events destroyed the "fun" associated with amateur events and created "professional amateurs" (Quoted from Glenn 1991:46). As Joyce Wethered indicated in her autobiography, the game by the beginning of the early 1930s was beginning to show signs of "a slight professional tint". She wrote of golf as " … no longer a game that can be pursued by the amateur quite as an entirely free individual. First class players are expected to fall in with the

[6] Enid Wilson became a golf correspondent with the *Daily Telegraph* in 1948.

wishes of the governing bodies and to play whenever it is expected of them. Business or other engagements are held to be feeble excuses. Teams are financed with public money and are run by large and energetic committees. Gate money is now the regular custom at all the championships and big matches" (Wethered 1933:187-188).

For those players who wanted to make an impression on the governing bodies and be considered for representation of their county or country, it was almost inevitable that they had to devote much of their time to golf by becoming "professional" amateurs. At the beginning of the 1930s, the LGU instigated a programme of international matches and tours and for this they needed to call on the services of their best golfers. To have a career in the amateur game and be selected as a representative of one's country, women had to have time to travel, money enough to finance their personal requirements, as well as talent. Some amateur players found that at this particular time they could not afford to tour and represent their country without some sort of financial assistance. It was difficult to see how golf could remain a completely amateur game without an element of commercial organisation and sponsorship.

6.5.1 Establishing the Curtis Cup

Male golfers had already established links with the USA through the Walker Cup matches for amateurs inaugurated in 1922 and the Ryder Cup between professionals from Britain and the USA in 1927. Women's golf followed suit at the beginning of the 1930s in establishing international links with the USA. A team of ten British ladies, captained by Molly Gourlay, played an unofficial match at Sunningdale against a team of women golfers from the USA before a crowd of 2000 spectators in 1930. The team included three Scots, Miss Doris Park of Longniddry, Miss Jean McCulloch of West Kilbride and Mrs J B Watson of Murrayfield (*The Times* May 2 1930). This contest was the forerunner of a biennial match between Britain and Ireland and the USA. On the initiative of two American sisters, Margaret and Harriet Curtis, a team from the USA played the British ladies at Wentworth in 1932. Their idea was "to stimulate friendly rivalry among the women golfers of many lands" and for this they presented a silver trophy thus establishing the 'Curtis Cup' as the major amateur team tournament in women's golf (Mair 1992:131). Playing in the Curtis Cup gave young players like Jessie Valentine a chance to expand their social horizons as well as gain international experience.

She did not come from the same social background as did most of her contemporaries but she had a talent for golf which the LGU could not fail to recognise. Having won the British Girls' Championship in 1933, she was chosen to be part of the British team which toured Australia and New Zealand in 1935. Jessie was fortunate in having a supportive family, with her father as her mentor and she was able to spend her time on the golf course.

> " ... Well your parents had to be well enough off to let you go to these places. I know that when I went to Australia [1935], I was given £100 by father and we had to pay our caddies and everything out there and we managed ... See everything was so much cheaper. A hundred pounds was a lot of money in my day ...Well I think, one or two of them couldn't go tours like going out to Australia, they couldn't afford it because they would have to pay. We went by ship too, no flying, ship we went by and it took six weeks ... Oh I was lucky, I must say" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

For those who could afford it, the experience of playing abroad gave them the chance to play on new courses, gain recognition and even win titles. On this occasion Jessie was away from home for five months playing in Australia and New Zealand where she won the New Zealand Open Championship. On a tour of this length there was the opportunity to get to know the other members of the team. Jessie became acquainted with another young English player, Pam Barton, who she had met at the British Girls' Championships. Miss Barton had already had the experience of playing in the Curtis Cup in 1934 at the age of seventeen and had also contested the final of the British Ladies' Championship in the same year. If there was any rivalry between Jessie and Pam, it was only on the golf course.

> "Oh yes, when we were on the golf course we concentrated but we talked...oh we all wanted to win but we were all nice to each other" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

It was the team experience which was important for the players and the leadership of the non-playing captain, an important factor. Jessie Valentine and Pam Barton represented Britain in the Curtis Cup match at Gleneagles in 1936. Miss Doris Chambers of the Wirral Ladies' Golf Club captained this particular team and her interest in encouraging juniors was an inspiration to both Jessie and Pam. On this occasion Jessie played a crucial role in securing a halved match when she holed a winning 25 foot putt on the 18th green. These amateurs were dedicated to improving

their game and this showed through in their commitment to practice. As Jessie acknowledged her preparation for any tournament was what she had always done as a youngster, to practise hard (SA 1995.103&104).

6.6 Individual effort

Players who represented their country had to pay for their uniforms, but were given expenses when they were playing as team members. If any of them wanted to enter tournaments as individuals such as the US Open Championship, they had to do so without any financial assistance from the LGU. Jessie recalled that her trips to America proved expensive.

> "No you would pay everything on your own. When we played in teams, when you went to America, we got our ticket. We didn't have to pay to get to America but after the Curtis Cup if we wanted to play in the American Championship we had to find our own way to the course where it was being played and it usually was miles away from where the Curtis Cup was" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103 & 104).

Another Scottish woman golfer in the 1930s, Helen Nimmo, was probably more typical of the lady golfer of the period. In contrast to Jessie, she came from a wealthy, upper middle-class family in Falkirk and had plenty of time and money to devote to a game in which she excelled. Helen was able to demonstrate this family wealth by being well turned out, having good equipment and being able to stay in good hotels. Her golfing ability was such that she was selected to represent Stirling in May 1929 in the county matches which were spread over a period of ten days. This entailed playing against other Scottish counties at different courses and travelling between Gullane, Stirling, Edinburgh and Falkirk. Not having any necessity to work, Helen had the time to devote to golf. She was regularly selected for the county team for the next ten years. In 1936, she won the East of Scotland Championship at Dalmahoy and with her partner, Miss Robertson Durham of Gullane, and won in the same year *The Bystander* foursomes tournament at Gleneagles.[7] In 1937, she was narrowly beaten by Helen Holm, one of the best Scottish ladies at this time, in the Scottish Championship. These successes ensured that the LGU recognised her as a prospective Scottish team member and she was selected to represent Scotland in the Home Internationals in 1936, 1938 and 1939. In 1939, she played alongside Jessie as

[7] See Illustrations **Fig.33** Photograph of Helen Nimmo and Miss Robertson Durham with their trophies at *The Bystander* tournament at Gleneagles in 1936.

a member of the winning Scottish team at Portrush. Her personal record of scores and results, of which she kept a meticulous account, shows that she played regular club golf for most of the year at Falkirk Tryst and St Rule in St Andrews where she was a member.[8] Helen acknowledged that she was fortunate in having the time and financial support of her family which enabled her to travel abroad and compete in open tournaments and competitions. While not part of an official tour as Jessie had been, she visited Australia with her brother in the early 1930s and played in the Open Championship there. Golfing trips to the Continent were a normal part of the lifestyle of a upper middle-class sporty single woman.

> "The year before the War, the Robertson Durhams and I went over to Sweden ... and we won all the things over there. I won a rug at Bostad in the 'open' golf competition there and then we went on to Stockholm and played in the Swedish and I think it was Sophie [Gifford] won it ... the Robertson Durhams and I had been to (laughs) a terrific party the night before (laughs) and I don't think we did ourselves justice, but we really won all the things there. That was in 1938 and we were just a bit worried as to whether we would ever get home again. You see it was just before the War and it was when all that fuss went on about the War starting. However I remember getting home over to Hull or somewhere. We sailed across and we had so many prizes between us that the customs men wouldn't believe that they were all prizes ... four women, 1938 ... but I won the first prize at Bostad before I became too involved with parties that we went to. The Robertson Durhams were very keen party-goers" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).[9]

The social side of golf was an important element in her life which after 1939 was curtailed by the War. Helen Nimmo, Liz Robertson Durham and Sophie Gifford from similar backgrounds were part of a group of women golfers who had the freedom to play whenever they wanted and could afford to remain in the amateur game.

6.7 Playing golf as a professional

The scope and opportunities for women contemplating making a living from golf as a paid profession were few. Entering the professional scene was something very few women considered in the 1900s or in the 1950s, but by the end of the 1980s it was something a few more were prepared to do. What were the difficulties for women in joining the professional ranks? Did those who became professionals find it difficult

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[8] Helen Nimmo's personal record, 1929-1939 details the results of each of her matches.
[9] The Robertson Durhams were a well known golfing family from Gullane in East Lothian.

to make a living? This section will focus on the problems surrounding professional golf for women in the early part of the century as well as the 1930s and the post war period.

6.8 Prospects for female professionals in the 1890s

The issue of women becoming teaching rather than playing professionals was discussed as early as 1899. Miss M. Boys (Boys & Mackern 1899:101) considered that women were capable of instructing other women. Whether many ladies would have considered undertaking the duties of an instructor along with the duties of greenkeeper or caretaker in the clubhouse is another matter. Male professionals attached to a golf club were required not only to teach but to accept duties as a greenkeeper and club caretaker. Miss Boys considered that there was something rather distasteful about doing something which involved a degree of manual or menial work. On the teaching side, she deliberated on the question of a "first-class lady golfer" instructing her own sex. Taking advice from a golf professional (male) on this matter, she concurred with his opinion that a lady would understand more fully than a man "the limitations of her sex to strength" and conceivably be better qualified in this respect to teach than a man.

With the increase in the number of private clubs which employed professionals, there was also a need for instructors. When a golf school (the first of its kind) opened in London in 1908, this gave employment to Scottish male professionals from north of the border. The head instructor at the New Golf School in Regent's Park was David Anderson of St Andrews (Reported in *The Ladies' Field* October 10 1908).[10] However there is no evidence of female instructors being employed here, although of the one hundred pupils who attended for lessons, a large percentage were ladies.

Miss Boys did not consider it necessary for an aspiring female professional to be a "scratch" golfer in order to become a first-class exponent of the game.[11] There should of course be some standard of competence and she suggested that the LGU might vet women who aspired to be professionals by organising "authorized inspectors" from their ranks to "put the applicant through her paces in every branch of the game ... the technicalities of golf tax a brain of no mean calibre, and for those who aspire to

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[10]Pupils were charged 5/6 (about 52p) for a single lesson of one hour, or three guineas (£3.15p) for a course of twelve lessons.

[11] For definition of 'scratch', see Glossary.

become professionals, the science of the game must be minutely studied and completely mastered" (Boys & Mackern, 1899:94). Furthermore it was Miss Boys' considered opinion that if a lady became a "professional", her social relationship with other golfers would change as a result and " Ladies, however, must realise at the outset that once a "pro", they are no longer on the same par as their amateur friends" (Boys & Mackern 1899:96). At the beginning of the century the relatively few women "professionals" were rather frowned upon by lady golfers when they tried to participate in ladies' tournaments. There was obviously a question of social status involved here, the lady golfer assuming superiority over the professional.[12] Miss Boys was differentiating here between ladies who played golf for pleasure and women who considered it as their profession. She considered that women taking up golf as a trade would "have to begin as caddies and rise by degrees to notoriety and championships" (Boys & Mackern 1899:101). Miss Boys thought that there might be few if any 'lady' golfers who would consider earning their living this way as this would have lost them their social status. The concept of professionalism for them would have lowered golf to the level of a trade. While men had a tradition of caddying and playing for prizes this would have been problematical for women as there was no tradition of females caddying in the men's championships and no championship where women would have been welcomed as "professional" competitors.

> "No doubt the pioneer lady professional will meet with many difficulties and considerable opposition at the start, but, as in all cases of similar innovations, time will smooth over the strangeness, until it is a recognised thing for each lady's golf club to have its own woman club-maker and professional duly certificated by the Ladies' Golf Union" (Boys & Mackern 1899:96).

This was entirely speculative as there is no record of the LGU having certificated any one as a club maker. Club making in addition to club repairing would ensure that earnings might amount to about £90 a year, but this was an income which a 'lady' would have great difficulty living on (Boys & Mackern 1899:96).

6.8.1 Early female professionals

Those few female professionals in the first decade of the 20th century only gave instruction to female beginners but none undertook repairing clubs. LGU records

[12] For references to early female professionals, see J. George (1997) *Oral History*, pp.46-50.

indicate that were no female professionals employed in Scotland at this time, but Mrs Maud Gordon Robertson, from a golfing family in North Berwick, was the daughter of a minister and a 'professional teacher' at the Prince's Ladies' Club on Mitcham Common in Surrey in 1908.[13] She also arranged tuition at schools and private homes by advertising her services in a sporting journal, *The Hockey Field* (October 8 1908). To assist new players, Mrs Robertson produced a booklet of instruction, *Hints to Lady Golfers*, which offered advice to those who had taken up golf "for the sake of pleasure and health".[14] As a 'professional', Mrs Robertson was not averse to recommending that ladies should play with particular brands of golf balls. She "always found Dunlops most excellent" and advised that lady golfers would find that they could get maximum length with minimum exertion by using Dunlops.[15]

A few other women with golfing family connections were known to have become female instructors. Miss Lily Freemantle, the daughter of a professional, was employed by Sunningdale Ladies' in 1911.[16] At this time Miss D. M. Smyth who had for some years been a member of the Barnehurst Golf Club, Bexley Heath, was appointed as a professional to Le Touquet Ladies' Club in the south of France (Browning 1955:196). However these "professionals" were purely instructors for ladies and were not employed to take on other duties associated with club professionals such as club repair or club making.

6.8.2 Women "professionals" in the USA and Britain in the 1930s

At this point it might be illuminating to consider the situation for women professionals in the USA to see how they compared to their counterparts in Britain. In the USA, the situation was somewhat different and there were a few women who became professional golfers as early as the 1920s and 1930s. Kahn (1996:6) in her account of the organisation of the Ladies' Professional Golf Association (LPGA), refers to those few women who were taken on as golf professionals in private clubs, something that did not happen in Britain at this time. While some women promoted the products of sporting goods manufacturers, others gave advice in golf clinics. One of the early pioneers, Helen MacDonald taught at the Golf Studio in Chicago in 1924

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[13] An article in *Lady Golfer*, October 1998:26 makes reference to Maud as 'a vicar's daughter'.
[14] See Bibliography.
[15] This advertisement for Dunlop golf balls appears in C. Leitch (1911) *Golf for Girls.*
[16] James Sheridan (1967) in his autobiography *'Sheridan of Sunningdale' My 56 Years as a Caddie Master* makes reference to Miss Freemantle.

as well as being the first woman to join a major sporting goods manufacturer, Hillerich and Bradsby of Louisville, Kentucky. Helen Hicks travelled around promoting sporting goods for the Wilson Sporting Goods Company in 1934. This appeared to be a forward-thinking company who saw the benefits in employing women to promote golf equipment especially suited to women. There was however little in the way of a circuit with only three 'Open' events in the USA in 1930 in which professionals were entitled to compete. With little in the way of prize money until the early 1940s when 'war bonds' were offered as prizes, the women had no hope of being given the amount of prize money available to men. Kahn (1996:7) indicates that men received twenty-eight times more than women did in prize money. American women golfers had no representational professional body to look after their interests at this time and this was considered a drawback. Some American golfers had, like Meg Main in Scotland (see below), to choose whether or not to stay as professionals or return to the amateur ranks.

In the early 1930s, Babe Didrikson[17] was in the peculiar position of being a professional in one sport (basketball) and an 'amateur' golfer until she was deemed to have become a "professional" following her endorsement of a car which she was given as a prize in the Texas Amateur Championship in 1935. The United States Golf Association (USGA) then considered that being a professional in one sport made her a professional in all sports. She spent some years touring with Gene Sarazen giving exhibitions and golf clinics and was sponsored by the Goldsmith Golf Company (Kahn 1996:43). But Didrikson (now Zaharias), preferred being part of the 'amateur' golf circuit as there was more in the way of competition for her and so applied to be reinstated as an amateur. After waiting a statutory period of three years, she was reinstated in 1943 (Kahn 1996:44).[18]

In Britain in the 1930s women with ambitions to become professional golfers had little hope of making a living. There were no women's professional tournaments and jobs as club professionals were extremely rare. If women did become attached to a club or course, it was in the capacity of assistant to an established male professional. Poppy Wingate was assistant professional to her brother at Temple Newsam, a municipal course in Leeds in the 1930s and Meg Farquhar Main was assistant to George Smith in a golf club maker's shop in Elgin. This was fairly unusual however

[17] Babe Didrikson married in 1938 and became Mrs George Zaharias. She was better known as Babe Zaharias. See also Chapter Seven.
[18] Re-instatement is after five years in the UK.

at this time. Both of these women entered for professional tournaments, competed alongside men and were the first women to do so in the 1930s. *The Times* reported that Poppy Wingate competed in the One Thousand Guineas Leeds Professional Tournament in May 1930 and although having a promising first round with a score of 76, only five strokes behind the leader, failed to qualify in the subsequent rounds (*The Times* May 28 1930). Cossey (1984:87) refers to Meg Main as having competed in the Scottish Professional Championship at Lossiemouth in June 1933. But there really was very little hope for women to win any share of the prize money when they were competing against professional men, so inevitably they were forced out of these professional tournaments. Unable to make any living in golf, Meg applied for re-instatement as an amateur after the Second World War and returned to playing competitive golf.[19]

Earning a living from marketing golf-related products meant that a player had to relinquish her amateur status as she was now considered to be working 'professionally' in golf. Joyce Wethered, who had won many amateur titles in the 1920s, knew that she did not want to dedicate her entire life to golf and took up an appointment promoting golfing goods. She was appointed as a golf advisor with Fortnum and Mason in London, giving advice to customers on golfing equipment and sports clothing. In 1935, she went on a five month tour of the USA, not only to publicise Wanamaker's golf supplies, but to play exhibition matches in mixed company. During this time, she played with Gene Sarazan and Babe Didrikson (see above) and was paid a considerable sum for the matches - in the region of £4000 (approximately the equivalent of £212,000 now). She had some misgivings about what was expected of a professional. Her years of commitment to the amateur game meant that she was not disposed to giving a "performance" for the benefit of an audience which was what was expected of a professional. "The change from amateur to professional has affected my game in a way I really cannot describe ... Perhaps it is the feeling of obligation to the public instead of the old idea of simply hitting the ball" (Quoted from the *Daily Telegraph* November 20 1997). [20] Throughout her amateur career she never lost sight of the fact that golf was "only a game" and one in which preparation was important, as was the concentration required to play a match.

It could be argued that the 'fun' associated with golf was being lost to those who pursued it as a career, but the expense of the amateur game was forcing players to

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[19] Meg Main was selected for the Scottish women's team in 1950 and 1951.
[20] Joyce Wethered died on November 18 1997 at the age of 96.

choose either to remain or give up. This was an important issue to consider when those who represented their country were playing at the highest of levels and were faced with a great deal of expense if they wanted to continue.

6.8.3 Moving from amateur to "professional" after the Second World War

Any golfer who had reached the standard of International level was faced with problems. Those from the higher income bracket and not in paid employment were in the privileged position of being able to accept the offer if selected for representative teams, while those who had to earn a living and were in the lower income bracket found it impossible to compete. Jessie Valentine claimed that it was often for monetary reasons that a top class amateur would have to forsake the amateur game.

> "Jean [nee Donald] Anderson, she was the first lady professional I think. I was still playing championship [amateur]golf when Jean gave up ... I think she changed because she couldn't afford to play any more as an amateur ..." (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

Helen Nimmo, was of the opinion that financial circumstances and the intervening period of the Second World War signified a watershed for some amateurs.

> "I knew Jean Donald very well ... we had a great argument ... just after the War I suppose it was, Jean Donald said she really couldn't ask her father to pay for her going to these championships and things and she came to me and asked "do you think I ought to turn pro?" and I said "yes, why not?" And she did eventually. But it was quite a step to become pro. There was only one professional woman golfer [in Scotland] and she wasn't very good [Meg Main] ... she was the only one and it was considered, until just after the War, it was considered a bad thing ... but it got so expensive and Jean Donald's father was a doctor and he couldn't afford to go on paying large sums for her going abroad and different places and so she became a pro ... My father was very good about it because he was keen himself" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Helen Nimmo and others like her continued to play in the amateur ranks as they were supported by their families, but the amateur game after the Second World War continued to be expensive. With the intervention of the War, women golfers realised that golf could never again be played under the same conditions. There was naturally some reluctance in ending an career as a top class amateur. It was in many ways almost a sacrifice as it meant severing the 'friendly' rivalry and the competition of

the team situation. Being a female professional did not guarantee instant security. According to Ethel Jack, "there was no guarantee in the beginning of women's professional golf over here that you were going to make money. Most of them [the professionals] started off as just golf ball saleswomen" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105). There was also some isolation in becoming a professional at this time. However by accepting a position in 1953 with the sports manufacturer, Slazenger, Jean Donald put her name to an autographed set of golf clubs. Her decision to turn professional might have caused regret in amateur golfing circles, but she was following the lead taken by some of the American golfers earlier in the 1940s.

While giving opportunities for travel and the experience of competitive play abroad, this was countered with a lack of competitions for professionals at home. Commenting on her first year as a professional, Jean Donald admitted that "there is only one drawback about being a woman professional in this country and that is the lack of tournaments in which one can play ... competitive golf is so very necessary if one is to be able to maintain a high standard" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* December 1954:191).

This was what was distinctive about the professional realm, the lack of competition not helped by the attitude of the LGU who appeared to reject any suggestions made to change this position for the benefit of women professionals. In 1935, Noel Dunlop-Hill, a member of the executive of the SLGA, had proposed that the British Ladies' Championship be made 'open' to all golfers whether amateur or professional, but this had been rejected by the LGU, as they felt it might encourage 'professionalism' among younger players and therefore commercialise the game.

Wanda Morgan, a former Curtis Cup player with a fine amateur record, had joined Dunlop in 1938 as a liaison officer advising women about golfing equipment and promoting the company at competitions. The LGU decided she should be referred to as a 'non-amateur'. It was apparent that the LGU had difficulty in establishing a terminology regarding those golfers who could not be easily categorised. In a reflective interview in 1971, Miss Morgan considered that, " ... we were not regarded as real professionals and none of us were members of the PGA [Professional Golfers Association]. We were merely earning a living doing a job that came naturally to us ... I always felt that it was sad for people like Jean Anderson [Donald], Jessie Valentine and myself and a few others to be barred thus from golf events" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* March 1971:30).

Jessie Valentine was well known in amateur circles. Between the 1930s and the late 1950s she had won numerous tournaments, titles and represented her country at the highest level.

> "I won the British Girls in '33, New Zealand in '35, that's when we went out on our tour. French Ladies' in '36. The Curtis Cup right on until '55. That's when I must have given up I think. I was non-playing captain of the Commonwealth team in '59, but that was only captain, I had given up golf about three years before that" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

Had it not been for the intervention of the War, Jessie might have claimed several more British Ladies' Championship titles. Her first win was in 1937.

> "I was really at my peak when war came, you know and I didn't play for five years. I never even looked at my clubs, isn't that awful" (Jessie Valentine SA1995.103&104).

After a twenty-one year gap, she won her next British Ladies' Championship title in 1955. Her third and final British title came in 1958 after which she decided to retire from playing in championships.

> "I gave up competitive golf when I was forty-two and I'm now eighty, so you know how long that was when I gave up [championship] golf. I couldn't be bothered going and practising then 'cause I had a young son and what not, I couldn't be bothered, so if you don't practise you've got to give it up, the competitive stuff ... and then I didn't do anything and then Dunlop asked me if I would design a club, so I did and that made me a pro" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

The clubs she designed for Dunlop carried her name "Jessie Valentine" and were part of a light-weight range of clubs designed especially for women in the 1960s. Being recognised as a "professional", Jessie was able to work in her father's sports shop in Perth and give lessons, something she was not allowed to do in the 1930s. She competed, when invited, in events such as the Worplesdon Mixed Foursomes and was a winner on several occasions. As an amateur turned professional, Jessie was able to pass on her knowledge contributing regular instructional articles to the golf

magazine, *Pin-High*, during the 1960s. She was very keen to encourage other players, especially young Scottish girls, for whom she acted as a role model.[21].

Jessie decided to ask to be re-instated as an amateur in the early 1980s. Having written to the R&A, she did not have to wait the statutory period.

> " ... I think it usually takes five years to get it back, but I didn't have to wait five years, 'cause I'm sure they said, "look at the poor old soul, give her it back" ... " (Jessie Valentine SA1995.103&104).

As a golfer who had achieved much, her relative fame did not change her outlook on life and she never considered herself a celebrity. Although she acquired a personalised number plate, JES 1 for her car with the symbol of a lady golfer on the bonnet, she remains extremely modest about her achievements and only confesses to being 'lucky'. She had never contemplated writing her autobiography maintaining that "nobody would want to know what happened" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995. 103&104). With honorary membership at many clubs throughout Britain, at the date of writing, she continues to enjoy golf on her home course at Blairgowrie in Perthshire.

Other distinguished amateur golfers in Scotland never contemplated any role other than remaining in the amateur ranks. Belle Robertson (b.1936) was regarded highly in her attitude to the game as "a consummate professional (in attitude if not in remuneration)". Belle was a regular member of the Curtis Cup team between 1960 and 1986. In an interview with the *Sunday Herald* in 1999, the seven times Scottish Amateur Champion, claimed she believed in the value of the amateur ethos and that to win was important "but never at all costs" (Quoted from the *Sunday Herald* August 8 1999).

6.8.4 The American approach to professionalism

Whereas at one time innovation in golf had been led by British women in establishing the foundations and organisation of the amateur game, it was American women who took the lead in establishing a professional organisation for women golfers. Jessie Valentine recognised the importance of the American influence when she played in the USA. The basis of their approach was to establish a college system

[21] Her golfing knowledge was published in 1967 in *Better Golf Definitely*, written as an instructional aid. Her tips on the mechanics of 'her' golf swing served as a helpful illustration for golfers keen to improve their technique.

where prospective professional players could be nurtured. The college system offered an abundance of coaching schemes and competitive events. Many of the leading American players progressed through these golfing schools established in the 1930s. The University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) trained students to become golf teachers. This was in contrast to Scotland in the 1950s, where women students were trained at Dunfermline and Jordanhill to become physical education teachers, but golf was not specifically part of their training. The difference between the higher standard of golf in the 1950s in the USA compared to Britain was attributed to the college system in the United States. Ironically, in the USA, as Enid Wilson (1961:138-9) acknowledges, those who taught golf during their training were not allowed by the United States Golf Association (USGA) to take part in golf tournaments when they were actively employed in teaching the game, or they would have lost their amateur status. In this respect, they were even more strict than in Britain.[22] As Wilson (1961:139) argues, the Americans were seen as a considerable influence on the British golfers in the early 1950s, who recognised that if they wanted to regain proficiency in golf, they must concentrate on encouraging more girls into the game.

Although women professionals in the USA had been represented by the Women's Professional Golf Association (WPGA) since 1943, American women found themselves with as many problems as British golfers. The first president, Betty Hicks, said of this body, "The first organization of women's professional golf was conceived in wrath, born into poverty and perished in a family squabble ... a bawling scrawny child of early day feminists, a beggar of a child pleading for tournaments and for amateurs to become professionals to play in those tournaments" (Quoted from Kahn 1996:7). Among their problems was the difficulty of maintaining communication in such a vast country. The WPGA only had a life-span of five years, its demise coming in 1949 due to a "lack of cohesion" and arguments over funding. However this was not to be the end of such a professional organisation as it was re-formed later that year as the Ladies' Professional Golf Association (LPGA) with a professional tournament manager, Fred Corcoran, who created a more organised format for professional golf. With Patty Berg as president, the tournament committee included Helen Hicks and Babe Zaharias, who had once again returned to the professional ranks in1948.

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[22] In the U K, the rule stated that 'bona fide' teachers were allowed to take classes without losing their amateur status. See reference earlier in this chapter.

In 1951 some of these American professional women golfers visited Britain and played a series of exhibition matches against a team of amateur British women golfers at Sunningdale, winning every match. They then went on to play against a team of British male golfers on level terms winning the singles and halving the foursomes matches. This was a considerable achievement, as the men's team included Leonard Crawley, an ex Walker Cup player and four Walker Cup team members. *Golf World* magazine recorded the victories in an article under the title of 'The Amazing Amazons' (*Golf World* July 27 1951).

British women golfers had no such representative body and lacked personalities of the calibre of Babe Zaharias, Louise Suggs and Patty Berg who attracted women and girls to the sport. For those few who turned professional in Britain, there was a lack of cohesive organisation and no separate governing body to represent the interests of those women golfers who were termed "professional". For women professionals to make any impact in Britain, there needed to be 'personalities' of the calibre of the Americans. With only a small number, it was understandable that those British professionals felt rather isolated at this time.

6.9 Representation of female professionals in the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) in the 1950s

The problems of the 1930s and the lack of competition were compounded in the 1950s with the lack of an organisation which would give women professionals the same representation as the men. Although the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) had been formed in 1901 to protect the interest of club professionals (at this time for men only), it was not until 1961 that the PGA announced that they were willing to admit women as members of a 'ladies' section'. Their objectives were as follows:

1. To further the interest of golf among lady golfers.
2. To protect and advance the mutual interest of its members.
3. To organise tournaments which may be sponsored especially for lady professionals.
4. To effect any other objects of a like nature (*Fairway and Hazard* April 1962:58).

However, the conditions for ladies applying as members were exceedingly restrictive. To become a member, a candidate had to be elected by the Executive Committee of

the Association and they were not entitled to hold office in the association, or entitled to attend or vote at any meeting, other than those connected with their own section. Also, it was stated that "Any member or applicant for membership accepting a position in the golf department of a sports store will not be eligible to play in tournaments under the auspices of the PGA" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* April 1962:58).

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The authority was in the hands of the male executive committee. The PGA would only allow women to become full members after serving three years as an assistant at a club, but it was difficult for women to find clubs who would take them on as professionals or even assistants. As far as attaching oneself to a club was concerned, as only a few women in Scotland had taken the step into professionalism, clubs were wary of initiating such a move. The PGA, as Cossey (1984:96-7) indicates, declared that women could become full members and register as playing professionals and compete for the PGA tournament prize money six months after being accepted by them, but as there were no tournaments where women could compete amongst *themselves* for money prizes, their position as part of the organisation seemed pointless. Up to March 1962, it was little wonder that only one woman had joined the PGA (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* March 1962:42).

6.9.1 Women as club professionals in the 1970s

For accomplished amateur women golfers who wanted to join the professional ranks as teachers attached to clubs in the mid 1960s and early 1970s, there were barriers to overcome and attitudes to be changed. It had always been the traditional position to employ men as club professionals. With this attitude it was difficult to argue the merits of women as club professionals with those in authority who appeared to be set in their ways and firmly against any consideration of change. Again it was an English woman and not a Scot who took the lead.

Vivien Saunders from Surrey was a pioneer for the professional women's game in the 1970s just as Issette Pearson had been for the amateur game in the 1890s. After a successful amateur career when she represented England as an Internationalist from 1967 to 1968, she relinquished her amateur status in 1969 and applied to the PGA for membership. Her application was turned down as she was not an assistant at a club, which was one of the criteria for membership. At this time Vivien was teaching at the John Jacobs Golf Centre at Esher. The PGA at their Annual General Meeting had

decided to cease granting registration to applicants from golfing ranges and golf centres until a list had been compiled by the Association for approval. Undeterred she applied for membership of the American Ladies' Professional Golf Association in order to obtain a 'player's ticket'. She entered three LPGA tournaments and was successful in becoming the first European to qualify for the LPGA tour. Returning from America, having obtained her player's ticket for the American circuit, her idea was to base herself as a professional in Britain and assist others to do the same. For several years she applied to clubs to employ her as a club professional, but was always unsuccessful. Eventually she decided the only way to become an established club professional was to open her own club which she did at St Neot's in Cambridgeshire. Employing women as golf professionals at clubs was not something which many clubs would consider until it was realised that Vivien Saunders was making a success of her club.

6.9.2 The WPGA - the governing body for professional women golfers

In the 1970s Vivien Saunders suggested to the LGU that they should consider instituting a professional division within their own constitution, but this was rejected by the LGU. The LGU did however establish in 1976 through the generosity of an anonymous donor and eventual sponsorship by Pretty Polly, a fashion company, a Ladies' British 'Open' for professionals *and* amateurs, open to those with a handicap of not more than 4.

Saunders was an outspoken critic of the way that women golfers were treated not only by the opposite sex but also by the female golfing establishment. She was determined to establish a professional women's organisation which would represent the interests of the playing female professional with or without the sanction of the LGU. With Barry Edwards, a marketing magnate, she put together a sponsorship package to enable nearly twenty women to turn professional and the Women's Professional Golf Association was founded in 1978. The emphasis then turned to establishing a sponsored playing circuit which would encourage more top amateur women into playing professionally as well as teaching.

Jane Connachan (b.1964), a former Scottish playing professional, who now runs her own golf range in East Lothian, considered that Vivien Saunders broke new ground for women in professional golf.

> "I don't think the young girls turning professional today realise how much she has done for the professional women's game. Yes she was definitely the leader ... she ended up buying her own club" (Jane Connachan SA.1999.02).

Playing in America was something that Jane Connachan experienced as an amateur when she was an exchange student for a year at high school in Indiana in 1980. Jessie Valentine and other young players, who had not the same benefits from the education system in the 1930s nevertheless had gone to America to play as members of the British team in the Curtis Cup, under the auspices of the LGU. In 1984, Jane Connachan became a professional and joined a growing number of players who had come through the amateur ranks. She always considered she would be a 'playing' as opposed to a 'teaching' professional.

> "When I did turn professional there was a tour, a real tour. It had just been taken over by the PGA who became the WPGA. Up until then I don't know what they were called but it became a region and it was taken over and we had something like twenty-eight tournaments ... so we were very fortunate to have all these tournaments ... there were so many played in Britain, the majority in Britain but a fair percentage was in Europe" (Jane Connachan SA.1999.02)

When Jane was playing in the 1980s, a tournament would be played over four rounds.

> "There would only be about a hundred of us, maximum I would have thought ... and you would play your two rounds and that would be sixty who would qualify and in some events you would go on and play your next two rounds, but only forty were paid, right ... but at least it gave you a chance even although sometimes you didn't get paid, you were getting a chance to learn your trade, so you were getting four rounds of golf and if you weren't paid at the end of it, by gum it made you hungry for the next tournament"(Jane Connachan SA 1999. 02).

At that time a tournament would be sponsored for £30,000 and from that the winner would normally get ten per cent of the 'pot', £3,000. As Jane acknowledged, the professionals then were fortunate in having as many as twenty-eight tournaments in which to play, compared to those early professionals who rarely had any competitive opportunities. To be a playing professional required dedication and relentless self-motivation. Jane decided to retire from 'playing' in 1991 at the age of twenty-seven after only seven years on the "tour" and devote herself to 'teaching' golf.

> "I lost the desire to play. Now when you lose the desire you also lose the inspiration to practise and then you still think you should be able to do the things that you did when you did practise and you can't and you are getting older all the time ... but you're competing against people who do have the desire and who will eat sleep and think golf all day long ... I didn't want to do that any more and what was the point" (Jane Connachan SA 1999.02).

Throughout the 20th century, women have arguably had problems dealing with issues surrounding equality of representation in both the amateur as well as the professional ranks. According to Hargreaves (1994:116-7), "the process of change in women's sports has never been straightforward, but associated with unevenness and struggle, challenge and resistance". In golf this concerned problems associated with the categorisation of who was or who was not an amateur. This was reflected in a number of small changes to the definitions during the early part of the 20th century. As more women reached the top level of amateur golf through playing in championships and representing county and country, they were involved in increasing expenditure either borne by the individual players or by an income earned from employment in golf related industries. This rendered some women to be categorised as 'non-amateurs' rather than professionals. Golfers often had to contend with a less than supportive attitude from the LGU. While extending the boundaries of their predecessors, golfers in the post-war period continued to experience difficulties equating golf as a pursuit with its costs in monetary as well as social terms. It was not made easy for women as professionals despite Vivien Saunders' pioneering work. In the 1980s, some women began to be accepted as club professionals. The difficulties associated with the life of a professional golfer varied from player to player with their prospects and expectations not always ultimately achieved or fulfilled. For some golfers there might have been a desire to experience the professional life, but for the majority after a spell in the professional ranks, a return to the amateur ranks often proved a more satisfying finale.

Chapter Seven

Representation of the Woman Golfer 1880-1980

While earlier chapters have focused on ways that women have been introduced to and participated in golf at different stages in their lives, whether for social reasons or as serious competitors, this chapter considers how women are represented as golfers in terms of personal appearance, clothing and playing style. This raises questions about how golfers saw themselves. To maintain dignity and femininity as participants women golfers had to consider their appearance and how they would be viewed by society if they overstepped the mark sartorially or stylistically. This also raises the issue of how they were portrayed in the challenge of golf, whether as serious participants or figures to be mocked. Therefore, in discussing the way in which women golfers are represented and the way they are perceived as regards their gender, one needs to take account of the factors which influenced changes in clothing and playing styles over a century between 1880 and 1980.

7.1 Dress reform in the 1880s and 1890s

Throughout the 19th century, women had to contend with a variety of criticisms in relation to preconceived conventions and constraints concerning clothing and behaviour. In the context of fashionable attire, symbols, whether they were of a moral or physical nature, were important in protecting 'femininity'. "Garments" as Roberts (1977:554) indicates, "signal to the world the role the wearer may be expected to play and remind the wearer of the responsibilities of that role". From earliest times, women were obliged to conform to wearing clothing which was deemed 'appropriate' wear and representative of their gender. For those who wanted to participate in sport, dress reform was an important consideration.

Along with campaigns for reform in health and women's rights in the 1880s came a campaign which recognised a need for educating women in "sensible habits of everyday dress for reasons of health" (McCrone 1988:220). Supporters as well opponents of women's emancipation expressed strong ideas on what might be acceptable in maintaining a distinctively feminine identity in dress reform. When the

question of sporting clothes came under discussion, the arbiters of this reform recognised a need for garments which emphasised freedom of movement. Florence, Viscountess Harberton, founder of the Rational Dress Society in 1881, did much to promote the convenience of a style of dress based on considerations of health, comfort and beauty. She considered it would be "more sensible to alter the clothes to the game rather than restrict the game to the clothes". She equated "rational dress with women's advance towards greater equality" (*Rational Dress Society's Gazette* 1889:6).

Ada Ballin (1885:44), a campaigner for 'sensible' dress for sport, was aware that women "dread and have reason to dread ridicule" from members of their own sex as well as the opposite sex. When Mrs Amelia Bloomer, an American, tried unsuccessfully to persuade women in the 1850s that a form of loose trousers worn beneath a knee-length skirt was a practical garment, she was ridiculed for even suggesting that women would adopt such an outrageous fashion. As Wilson and Taylor (1989:28) indicate, only a few women were prepared to accept the ridicule and public comment associated with this garment known as the "Bloomer costume" as it aroused "deep-seated anxieties about the masculinisation of women". Ballin was concerned that sporting costume should permit "free movement", but acknowledged that there were limits on dress reform as the standards were set by women's own conservatism. She advocated "reform" rather than "revolution" (1894:3). Although dress reformers did advocate bifurcated garments as a form of practical and comfortable clothing for the active woman, it was not the intention of the advocates of rational dress to make women dress like men. Consequently the advocates of rational dress did not persuade women to jettison their 'feminine' apparel in favour of garments geared to functionality or persuade them to renounce long flowing skirts and fitted jackets (*Rational Dress Society's Gazette* 1889:6). There were problems to overcome as regards the specific requirements of such rational dress for sport, such as associations with and attitudes to any kind of radical change.

Women who took up golf in the 1880s appeared to acknowledge that wearing clothes which restricted freedom and ease of movement merely signified the restrictions of their gender. Women appeared on the links in 1889 at St Andrews 'conventionally' attired. **Fig.14** Dressed for daytime visiting, it was clear that they were handicapped and unable to play with a freedom of movement or any degree of abandon. As McCrone concedes (1988:235), "prevailing fashions seemed purposely designed to prevent women from performing aesthetically". Comfort and freedom of

movement was not a primary consideration. It would appear that it was important for these players to observe convention rather than look out of place or deliberately shock. But were they demonstrating to society that they were women first and golfers second? The question might be asked, why, if they wanted to pursue a game which required a certain degree of physicality, would they want to constrain themselves in the conventional fashions of the day? Tight corsets, blouses or jackets with leg of mutton sleeves, high tight-necked collars, large hats and full length skirts could inhibit the manner of play and although women might question wearing 'fashionable' clothing for golf, it was the general belief that conventional dress should be worn.

7.2 1890 - 1914

Lord Wellwood[1] had advised against ladies taking a full swing as the club would have to be raised above shoulder height and "the posture and gestures requisite for a full swing are not particularly graceful when the player is clad in female dress". Additionally, they apparently had to be careful that their dresses did not "cast unsettling shadows on the greens" (Quoted from Hutchison 1890:51-2). Golf clubs should be swung in an elegant manner. A male writer in the fashionable society magazine, *The Gentlewoman* (March 4 1893) observed that "the golf swing in its most effective form was one of the most graceful things imaginable" and maintained that it did not call for more exertion than "the push of a punt pole". Some advertisements used the image of the female golf swing to market beauty products. **Fig.15** But the conventional sporting image depicted was of women golfers whose style of play reflected their femininity in an acknowledgement of the gentility, restraint and decorum associated with being female. Occasionally women golfers would be depicted as swinging their clubs in an active manner without risk to the seams of blouse or jacket, but the norm was one of restraint.

As an illustration of how the 'ideal' lady golfer could be represented, Lady Margaret Scott, the eighteen year old daughter of Lord Eldon, set a standard for women by demonstrating that one could a combine stylishness with elegance. Her appearance presented an acceptable image of female grace and beauty at the first Ladies' Championship in 1893 when she appeared conventionally attired in a blouse with leg of mutton sleeves, tight fitting to the wrists and wasp-waisted, indicating a constraining corset, a heavy full length skirt, a pair of leather gloves to protect her hands and a straw boater, no doubt held securely in place with hat pins. **Fig.16**

[1] See Chapter Three.

According to commentator May Hezlet (1903:108), " ...she has a beautifully easy swing, and her style is one of the best for beginners to imitate, as it combines grace and ease with power and skill to a wonderful extent". From photographic evidence, it is clear that Lady Margaret was capable of a full swing lifting the right elbow high in the air in spite of her restrictive attire. This powerful style had developed as a result of playing most of her early golf alongside men. It was this power which gave her a distinct advantage over other female competitors. **Fig.17** Lady Margaret was a stylist with a graceful swing, but women were in general restricted in their movements by wearing clothing for golf which was too tight for comfort and presented problems. The basis of fashion in the 1890s which shaped the outline of the female body was controlled by the undergarment, the corset.

7.2.1 The corset

The question of achieving liberty and freedom in the golf swing with respect to a woman's restraining undergarments took time to resolve. If women were to be taken seriously in sport and progress from merely 'playing at golf' in polite society to playing golf with more purpose and zeal, then their underwear as well as their outer clothing had to alter in order to accommodate more freedom. How to maintain femininity in their shape along with the desire for more freedom in clothing gave dress designers some challenge. Dress reformers had tried to persuade women of the damage constricting undergarments might do to their bodies, but as Roberts concedes (1977:565), "an uncorseted woman was in danger of being accused of loose morals" and that attitude would have been *de rigeur* in the 1890s. Loose clothing was associated with loose living and at a time when behaviour of a moral as well as a physical nature was rigidly controlled, women had to contend with a variety of opinion in relation to preconceived convention concerning their position in society.

One of the leading experts in the design of corsets, R.M. Hahn, devised an athletic corset constructed in a strong linen with an elastic belt and an elastic gore at the front and side which he considered "ideal" for the movements required in golfing and dancing. This development meant that by adapting an existing form of restrictive undergarment, the freedom to swing a golf club could be ensured. Subsequently, another manufacturer even went so far as to offer sponsorship for a golf tournament in order to promote his product, a less rigid version of the corset, the Royal Worcester Boneless Sports Corset (McCrone 1988:236). Corsets were therefore adapted to the comfort of the golfers but not completely discarded until 1914.

7.2.2 Masculine attire?

On the question of fashionable outer wear and how it might be adapted for comfort in sport, there was also the male attitude to consider. From the early 1890s a few women who wanted to be taken seriously began to appear at tournaments and championships attired in ties or cravats and jackets with club insignia, giving themselves a distinctly masculine appearance. McCrone identifies this gesture of incorporating a masculine image as "a kind of contradictory tribute and challenge to the male world that was being invaded" (1988:240). These symbols of masculinity did not, however, have the same significance for women. While women might adopt this type of "uniform" as an identification with their club, the symbolism of the 'old school tie' only had connotations in a man's world. Jackets and ties gave a more distinguished appearance to the upper half of the body but women were only prepared to sacrifice their 'feminine' appearance above the waist. The retention of a skirt safeguarded their 'femininity' and was the dominating image of the female golfer for several more decades.

7.2.3 Contending with the "New Woman" image

As women acquired the desire for more active pursuits, the image of the "new woman" developed as one who was apparently oblivious to criticism and comment. As Cahn (1994:8) observes, these women "claimed the right to share in sport" with a "disregard for traditional gender arrangements". While a few female cyclists had taken to wearing bloomers, women golfers tended to be rather wary of causing provocation and felt it was their duty to counteract women who "showed six inches of her stocking beneath her skirts and loosened her corsets" (Park 1989:10). They were guided by the authoritative voice of the LGU and commentators who offered advice on what was considered correct and appropriate. First and foremost, a smart appearance was considered to be essential in protecting golfers from being ridiculed. It was the duty of the leaders in women's golf and the LGU to make the position clear on this.

Mrs Louie Mackern, a well-known player at Blackheath, advised lady golfers not to step beyond the bounds of their position by drawing unwarranted attention to themselves. She pointed out the harm this might do to the serious purpose of women's golf and was scornful of those golfers who, "bring our sex into ridicule by wearing as "mannish" clothes as possible". Those who advocated "hunting ties,

shapeless red coats and the narrowest of bicycling skirts" were in her opinion doing no service to the image of the lady golfer. The bicycling skirt with its side pockets encouraged ladies to ape the mannerisms of men if they "rammed both hands into the pockets". (Mackern & Boys 1899:108). To counteract any displays of masculinity, she advocated that a well cut tailor-made skirt was preferable for the female figure and that hair worn to fit under a well pinned straw boater was preferable to a "mannish" cap which offered the complexion no protection from the sun. She considered the aim of the lady golfer should be to have a "neat and pleasing appearance"

Mrs Mackern's concerns were echoed by May Hezlet in 1903. Miss Hezlet, from a Irish family of golfers, was never short of advice to offer other golfers and cautioned that anything that made the wearer conspicuous was out of place on the links and would be judged negatively by non-golfers. She urged women not to become this

> "... weird and terrible creature clad in the most extraordinary garments, striding along with a self-possessed walk, and oblivious to everything but her beloved game. All who have any acquaintance with the game recognise the absurdity of this picture, but unfortunately when a popular belief like this is in existence there has generally been some grain of truth to make a starting point and therefore it should be the aim of all lady golfers of the present day to abolish this prejudice" (Hezlet 1903:234-5).

The image of the "golfing girl" obsessed by her game was one which was frequently lampooned in *Punch*, the satirical periodical, which exaggerated her ignorance of the rules as well as her naivete. One such cartoon emphasised the flirtatious nature of a fashionably dressed woman, who, having failed to move the ball at six attempts, enquires of her male companion, "which of the sticks am I to use now?". *C.B. Fry's Magazine* (November 1911) advised women that the reputation of the game would be at stake if they ignored their taste in appearance with the manner in which they participated . While some women golfers might have stood out from others as objects of eccentricity, it was seen as the duty of others to counteract this. Miss Hezlet did not want to draw attention to those who chose to dress in any "outrageous" fashion and offend, as this would result in the wrong kind of publicity for women's golf. She wanted there to be a minimum of "disparaging remarks" as those might receive disproportionate comment from such periodicals. For some women golfers the dilemma was whether they should spend money acquiring a rational sporting image by wearing golfing outfits which were considered fashionable, or adapt everyday

wear so that they could play in a freer manner, while maintaining a sense of elegance and decorum. As Park (1989:11) observed, "it was one thing to talk about the necessity of adopting more practical clothes and another to put it into practice".

7.2.4 Golfers innovations and aids

By the early 1900s, women golfers were beginning to accept the necessity for practicality if they were serious about playing the game. Some innovations were invented by lady golfers themselves and were accepted as being sensible. A leather band bound round the hem, which helped protect skirts from being torn by gorse or from fraying, was reputed to be the idea of a lady from Yelverton Golf Club in Devon (Crane 1991:145). The idea was that any dirt could be easily sponged off the skirt if the hem was protected. As skirts were wide at the hemline the problem for golfers was to cope with a flapping skirt which could hinder a fair aim as they prepared to hit the ball. Miss Higgins, an American golfer playing in the Ladies' Open Championship at Troon in 1904, introduced an elastic attachment to keep her flapping skirt at bay (Mair 1992:42). This useful contraption consisted of a band of elastic worn around the waist and then slipped down below the knees as the player was about to take aim. The "Miss Higgins" band was adopted by some of the Scottish golfers as an aid. **Fig.18** They not only had to deal contend with blustery conditions on the exposed Scottish links but with the fullness of their skirts. The "Miss Higgins" band did not meet with complete approval, however. May Hezlet considered that weather conditions did give lady golfers problems, but this "horrible invention" of the "kicking strap" as she called it, was responsible for "destroying and distorting feminine attractiveness" (Quoted in Hutchison 1912:347).[2] Mabel Stringer maintained that the "Miss Higgins" "was the most useful as well as the most unsightly of the many inventions to counteract the vagaries and inconsistencies of *la mode*" (Stringer 1924:27).

Ladies were most likely to take advice on the functionality of attire from those experienced in playing in all sorts of weather. Miss Hezlet advocated raising the hemline to between six and eight inches from the ground and recommended that lady golfers should try to co-ordinate practical clothing with a neatness of appearance. This would give little excuse for being "unbecomingly" attired as "a short skirt - really short, not simply a couple of inches off the ground - looks infinitely nice and more workman-like, and makes an inestimable difference in comfort...a flapping

[2] May Hezlet was a contributor to *The New Book of Golf* and provided advice for ladies.

skirt is a great nuisance when playing golf" (1903:227). She also considered that as golfers were on the move for long periods of time, comfortable and practical footwear was also essential.

> "Good boots keep in shape...For anyone who plays golf regularly two pairs of thick boots are a necessity, one made extra strong to withstand the wettest grass, and the other of a lighter make to be used in fine weather" (Hezlet 1903:228).

She recommended a particular brand of footwear, 'Scafe's Patent Soles', as the most comfortable soles to wear as "they possess india rubber studs and give a quite sufficiently firm foothold for ordinary occasions" (1903:229). Some women (including Miss Hezlet) had adopted motor caps tied in place with veils by 1904. **Fig.19** Miss Hezlet recommended that "Tam o'shanters, too, are always nice and if made with a velvet head band, will stay on firmly and resist any violence of the elements" (1903:230). Tam o' shanters were a distinctive part of Scottish golfers' attire as the wind was a feature on some of the more exposed golf courses. Clothing which could stand up to the vagaries of the Scottish climate found favour amongst many golfing ladies. Sometimes practicality overtook aesthetics as far as comfort was concerned

7.2.5 Manufacturers' innovations

Along with the ideas of women themselves, clothing manufacturers began to consider the commercial possibilities of a range of clothing suitable for the active sportswoman. The draper Thomas Burberry of Basingstoke designed a style of golfing clothing in 1904 which he considered was within the bounds of "acceptable fashion". He saw that the sporting woman needed practical, comfortable and protective outerwear as well as fashionable clothing for her new activities. His design of a "free stroke" coat with a patent '*Pivot* sleeve' permitted, it was claimed, a perfect arm swing, upward, backward and forward. Combined with this was an adjustable skirt which could be looped up and shortened by six to eight inches. **Fig.20** A weatherproof cloth which was hard wearing and ideal for the climate was used. Burberry was able to treat this material with a proofing process before and after the weaving process and the description for this cloth introduced the name 'gaberdine' into fashion terminology. An advertisement made the claim that the "unique Burberry waterproof materials enabled a round to be played without fear of a soaking from rain or a chill from a cold". Material which was impervious to wet

weather providing warmth as well as comfort was essential for players in Scotland, where the climate could change quite dramatically during the three or four hours out on the golf course. This adaptable sports coat was seen as an alternative to the heavy tweed suit and was one of the first pieces of 'casual' clothing to be manufactured.

7.2.6 'Femininity' in playing style

On the question of golfing style and techniques of play, May Hezlet's advice to women golfers considered that grace above all should be emphasised.

> "Golf is essentially a graceful game; the different attitudes necessary for the accomplishment of the various strokes have sometimes been considered ugly for women, but if they are properly acquired and not exaggerated there can be no question of ungracefullness ... the first requisite for good style is to be perfectly natural; nothing forced or laboured looks well, and the movement of the arms must be free and unchecked. There should be no exertion visible and ease combined with power and strength is the first point to be cultivated" (1903:100).

Playing with smooth and elegant strokes without exerting any obvious force and pressure was viewed as a primary consideration in maintaining femininity. When reference was made to women golfers in newspapers and golfing journals, remarks were frequently directed to their appearance and demeanour. As Hargreaves (1994:164) has observed of sportswomen, "on the one hand they are newsworthy for their athletic efforts and successes, but because sport still poses a threat to popular ideas about femininity, readers are assured in various ways that they remain 'real' women". This is illustrated in a report on the first Scottish Championship at St Andrews in 1903 which confirmed the 'femininity' of the winner of the title, Miss Alexa Glover, who was credited with grace and beauty, not unlike similar qualities attributed to Lady Margaret Scott, although her 'gait' had a certain masculinity.

> "Miss Glover who enters from the Elie and Earlsferry Club is possessed of a particularly dainty style. It is a pleasure to see the play of her lithe body as she drives, and she walks with a masculine freedom of gait which comes from much pacing of the elastic turf. A typical athletic girl of the newest school is Miss Glover with her rose-leaf complexion, golden hair and pretty air of aloofness. Not the sunburnt hoyden who used to come to the front in active exercises. Her costume of white jersey, short tweed skirt, showing trim ankles, and a Tam o' Shanter, firmly pinned down to bid defiance to the wind, was an ideal one." (*St Andrews Citizen* June 20 1903) **Fig. 21**

The concentration on the physicality and femininity of the player and the beauty of face and form, where attention is drawn to her effortless grace and neat appearance, contrasts with the purposeful, determined manner of her stride down the fairway. Readers needed to be reminded and reassured in some way that although she was young, fit and energetic and there was a serious purpose in competing for a title, she could still pay attention to her appearance. For a female golfer to be seen to be striding out and playing powerfully but with apparent ease, reflected the serious purpose behind competing. Competitive golf required that one took the match seriously and got on with the next shot rather than lose concentration by making small talk with one's opponents. That Alexa Glover possessed a graceful style was not in question, but it was the power with which she was able to hit "a very long ball" which impressed a commentator in *Golf Illustrated* and which was viewed as significant and a change from what had been witnessed before (June 26 1903). In another feature on Miss Glover (*The Edinburgh Magazine* December 5 1903), her style was described as being "perfection personified" and her performance highly creditable. From visual evidence Miss Glover did not hamper herself with excessive clothing and wore knitted jerseys and short skirts as opposed to other players who wore tailored jackets and long full skirts. **Fig. 21a** Her movements were not hindered by her clothing which gave her more freedom in being able to employ a full swing and follow-through.[3] This woman was admired for her golfing ability as much as for her feminine appearance.

7.2.7 'Masculinity' in style

Five years on, while club golfers might be playing and dressing in a style which reflected their femininity first and foremost, Cecil (Cecilia) Leitch of Silloth in Cumbria was attributed with having abandoned a ladylike swing so that her movements were uninhibited. One of five sisters who had been encouraged into golf by her father, a doctor from Fife, Cecil made her first appearance in the British Ladies' Open Championship at St Andrews at the age of seventeen. **Fig. 22** Different from the other competitors in appearance and demeanour, she appeared hatless with a large bow holding back her hair and sported a mid-calf length skirt and a shirt and tie. Adopting a wide stance and taking a loose flat swing which emphasised her power, she drove aggressively through the ball finishing with a full follow-through. Eleanor Helme, reflecting in 1955 on Cecil, considered that "She it was, a mere semi-

[3] The "follow-through" as the name implies being the continuation of the downward swing after the club-head has met the ball. See Glossary.

finalist, who made history once and for all at St Andrews in 1908, and made it because she went out to hit the ball with might and main, not merely trying to persuade it away by beauty of swing and timing ... at that moment it was a new and startling doctrine that a woman should hit the ball so ferociously and so far" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* December 1955:210). The vice-like grip with which she controlled her hickory shafted clubs caused her to break her brassie[4] during the semi-final of the Championship, as she attacked the ball with so much aggression. Cecil's own theory was that "you must look upon your ball as worst enemy and treat it as such" (Leitch 1924:96). Although she lost in the semi-final to the more experienced Maud Titterton from Musselburgh, Cecil stood out as being different from the majority of women golfers. Her appearance attracted as much attention as her style of play. Both sartorially and stylistically she had moved forward and away from the restrictions of tight clothing and graceful elegance.

From 1908, a gradual change could be detected in the techniques and styles in other prominent players in Scotland. With women now having more opportunities to play on longer links, they were no longer confined to their own short courses and had greater scope to hit out. Miss Katherine Stuart, a member of the St Rule Club of St Andrews, was noted for her swing which was characterised by the 'long' St Andrews style, a free method of playing which the men employed (*The Ladies Field* November 7 1908). On one occasion she drove 233 yards from the tee to the edge of a green, over fifty yards further than any drive of Lady Margaret Scott. According to Eustace White, a golfing commentator, "Ladies as a rule pay far greater attention to swing, backswing and to follow-through than do men" and while they can usually never drive as far as men can "hold their own" in the "middle and short game" (1908:440).

May Hezlet, writing under her married name of Ross (1912:269), was conscious that the physique of girls and young women had improved as a result of taking part in athletic activity. She too noted a difference in the ability of players and in the length of drives compared to those of earlier years. On her travels she made notes as she watched players from different parts of the country over a period of time and analysed the styles of Scottish players. She considered they reflected a style particular to their playing region noting that Miss Dorothy Campbell of North Berwick, beaten finalist in the British Ladies' Open Champion of 1908 but winner in 1909 and 1911, employed a short up and down swing and tended to use her wrists more as she hit the ball. Her paternal grandfather as well as her eight uncles had played over the links at

[4] See Glossary.

North Berwick and Miss Campbell admitted herself that "I apparently picked up by chance or by an unconscious imitation, a shot which has been a real factor in any success I have had ... my best shot has always been one of the running up variety" (Quoted from Helme 1923:28). Elsie Grant-Suttie, winner of the Scottish Championship in 1911, was also seen to be typical of the 'North Berwick School', swinging short with a straight left arm and a restrained follow through, bending her arms only slightly. The abilities of the St Andrews and North Berwick players and their differing playing styles could well have been attributed to exposure to wind and other extremes of weather. But there was evidence also that they were getting more distance with their drives partly due to the introduction of the rubber-cored balls[5] and as a consequence of playing with men whose styles they were copying.

7.2.8 Comfort and decorum

Much of the change in playing style also had to do with the type of clothing that these women now chose to wear. Knitted jackets rather than tailored suits were worn loose, giving more freedom for the golf swing, and Dorothy Campbell, among others, favoured the knitted belted jacket. **Fig.23** These knitted golf coats were even being adopted for general day wear as in 1908, supporters of the Women's Social and Political Union were asked to meet Christabel Pankhurst on her release from prison and requested to attire themselves in this new style - "a white jersey *golf* coat with a short skirt of purple and green and a simple hat" [6] (*Votes for Women* 1908:194).

Those who were adept at knitting had taken May Hezlet's advice and knitted or crocheted their own golf jerseys and jackets (Hezlet 1903:230). For those in Scotland who preferred their golf clothes ready made, the latest styles in golfing clothes were now available from the many department stores in Edinburgh. Henry Darling & Co, J & R Allan's Ltd, John Wight & Co and Robert Maule & Sons all specialised in golf fashions for the 'discerning' lady golfer and advertised their wares locally in the society journal *The Edinburgh Magazine*. Aitken and Niven advertised hats, golf jerseys, coats and "Scotch tweeds" to a wider market through the London based society magazine, *The Gentlewoman.*

If, however, any item of fashion was carried to extremes, it drew critical comment and became the subject of caricature in newspapers and magazines. The "hobble"

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[5] The Haskell ball - see Glossary.

[6] White, purple and green being the colours associated with the WSPU and women's suffrage.

skirt, originally the design of Paul Poiret, a Paris couturier, had been the subject of public debate, as it freed the hips but confined the ankles. Women were portrayed as taking mincing steps when wearing them. The hobble skirt was narrow rather than full at the hemline and it was easier to take one's stance and address the ball while wearing one than it had been with the wider full skirts. But for golfers the dilemma was whether they should wear a full skirt in which they could stride out, or adopt the hobble. Mrs Ross considered that "Hobble skirts may not be beautiful but they are certainly very comfortable and neat for golf when worn in a moderate fashion" (1912:346). Again it would appear this fashion was acceptable as long as it was not worn to extremes.

More practical and innovative was the divided skirt. As early as 1911, Mr Given, a ladies' outfitter of Castle Street in Edinburgh, introduced his form of a "jupe culotte" (divided skirt) to lady golfers. He maintained that "The wearer can walk to the links in what appears to be an ordinary skirt and when she reaches the course can, in a moment detach the buttons and instantly have the freedom of her lower limbs" (Quoted from *The Gentlewoman* May 6 1911). Conscious of the propriety of the female golfer, the design of the "jupe culotte" offered modesty as well as practicality. But Mr Given's "made to measure" creation did not appeal to lady golfers as there is little photographic evidence of golfers wearing this style. The impediments of earlier fashions were not cast aside lightly and golfers retained a reserved attitude to change. Joyce Wethered (1933:181-2), reflecting on the uniformity of what women had worn in the past, observed, "I can remember the first occasion on which my mother appeared on the links - as late as 1914 - in a small cap in place of the conventional straw or large flat cap; and I also remember very distinctly (at the critical age of twelve) my consternation at witnessing such a revolutionary change". Up until 1914 when war was declared, the way women golfers presented themselves, reflected their own reluctance to abandon altogether a rather conservative image.

7.3 The Aftermath of the First World War

The First World War affected women's golf as well as the position of women in society. While for some it was a matter of carrying on as normal, others had to adapt to changes in family circumstances. Some women continued to pursue their sport as before, playing at their clubs in somewhat restricted circumstances and contributing any money raised from club competition entry fees to War charities. All major competitions and Championships were suspended on direction from the governing

bodies and with major championships halted for a four year period, there was little in the way of communication through competitive events and golf suffered a downturn in support as golf clubs struggled to keep the support of their members. Some women abandoned golf altogether at this time and offered their services in a voluntary capacity for the war effort as nurses, drivers and auxiliaries. Manufacturers turned their attention away from clothes for leisure activities to producing more serviceable clothing as "fashion" became subservient to national needs. When women returned to golf after the enforced break, a uniformity in clothing mirrored events of this period with the emphasis on practical clothing for golf in the way of shirts, ties and serviceable skirts rather than pretty blouses and flowing skirts. Although news of women golfers and golf events in general was given restricted coverage in newspapers and journals, it was the feats of individuals and their appearance and playing style which was the focus of attention in the period between 1920 and 1940.

7.3.1 Charlotte Stevenson of Scotland

Charlotte Stevenson (later Watson Beddows) did not display the aggressiveness of Cecil Leitch, but was nevertheless recognised as early as 1909 by *The Ladies' Field* as one of a new young breed of Scottish golfers. A few years older than Cecil Leitch, she had first met Leitch at the British Ladies' Open in Turnberry in 1921, when Cecil had given Charlotte some valuables hints about her iron shots which had helped her correct a fault. Charlotte's career ran in parallel with Cecil's, although her attitude to the game as well as her individualistic style was considerably different. According to the correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, she was "a curious mixture of hurry ... quick and business like in her movements on the green ... and deliberation" (June 20 1922). **Fig.24**

Charlotte Stevenson came from a well known golfing family from Edinburgh and had achieved much success locally in Edinburgh in the early 1900s. As a seventeen year old, she had been runner up to Miss Maud Titterton in the first Gibson Cup tournament played on the Braid Hills Golf Course in 1907 and had taken the title the following year. When the national championships resumed in the 1920s, Charlotte, now Mrs Watson had successive wins in the Scottish Championship from 1920-22. However she continued to display an easygoing attitude to golf and was reported as being:

> "... not grimly serious ... she will even dare to jest on so solemn a subject as golf and the probability of her own defeat ... you never hear

> Mrs Watson make any excuses for a bad shot or a bad beating ... (*Morning Post* June 20 1922)

This suggests that the Scot lacked the fighting spirit of her English counterpart Cecil Leitch. But Mrs Watson's dominance in the "domestic spheres of Edinburgh and Scottish golf" was unchallenged, although the commentator in *The Glasgow Herald* (June 20 1922) was quick to point out her failings in the two British Ladies' Open Championships in which she had played. He was also critical of another Scottish player, Miss Jean McCulloch, who had been beaten "very easily" by a local player, Miss Shewan. According to this commentator, as someone who had put up a "very plucky fight" in the British Ladies' Open Championship against Miss Joyce Wethered (the eventual winner at Sandwich in 1922), Miss McCulloch, should never have been beaten with "a two holes lead and only three to play". "Our" players were urged to "go out and tackle the bigger players, fearing nothing ... and fight the business to the last green". In order to contend with players from south of the border Scottish players needed to acquire a more competitive edge and to have more self belief in their capabilities as golfers.

7.3.2 Cecil Leitch and Joyce Wethered of England

Arguably, it was the impact of English golfers Cecil Leitch and Joyce Wethered who provided the inspiration for women golfers in Scotland. It is appropriate to ask why this should be so and how their presence brought a focus to the way women golfers were represented. In approach and style, they characterised the dichotomy of the women's game in the 1920s, the masculinity and a femininity of distinctive styles and personalities. The contrast between them was striking. Joyce was more retiring and perhaps more representative of the femininity of women golfers in her grace and skill. **Fig.25** She was referred to as a "supreme stylist" who never gave the impression of hitting hard, while Cecil, now having matured, still struck the ball with considerable force. **Fig.26** Ten years Cecil's junior, Joyce was tall and willowy in appearance and very "immature" when she first played competitively, as she admitted in later years.

> "... I was frightfully shy and still young. The war had prevented me going about and having fun and I was immature. I was as a matter of fact of a shy nature throughout my golfing career ... Cecil Leitch had a tremendous reputation and personality and people were scared of her and she used to, in a sense beat them before they started ... I got myself into a sort of cocoon and I never saw her play a shot because she had a most

> wonderful dashing style which put your rhythm all to pieces" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* April 1970:51).

Enid Wilson, a golfer and writer, referred to Cecil as "the first of the Amazons" on account of her power and with the abbreviation of her name to 'Cecil', her presence had an aura of 'masculinity'(1961:53). Bodily strength and muscularity symbolically associated with masculine power was uncharacteristic of the majority of women golfers. Cecil had become British Ladies' Open Champion in 1914 and might have repeated her success in the following years but for the intervention of the war. However, she had kept herself sufficiently in form to regain the title when the Championship was resumed in 1920, winning again the following year.

In 1921, Joyce entered for the English Championship and won the title by employing a calmness of approach to her game. At one point in the final, Joyce's concentration was such that a train roaring by on the railway line close to one of the holes did nothing to distract her power of concentration as she holed a crucial putt. On being asked if she had been conscious of the noise, she was reported as replying, "What train?". As she was later to write " ... the story varies slightly in matters of detail; but the point of it seems to depend on whether I heard the train or not - whether, indeed, I was so oblivious of my surroundings that my oblivion became a glorious instance of concentration" (Wethered 1933:37-8). In many ways Joyce was a very traditional female golfer in her style. Enid Wilson viewed Joyce as a great stylist who could "... out-distance her opponents regularly by twenty to thirty yards or more ... Her height and long reach enabled her to swing in a big arc and the perfection of her timing was the epitome of grace" (Wilson 1961:55).

In 1921, the British Ladies' Open Championship was held in Scotland at Turnberry and in 1925 at Troon, when Scottish women golfers had the opportunity to view the standard and style of these players. Major Guy Campbell, reporting for the *Lady's Pictorial*, noted that ladies were becoming longer "off the tee" and of the entrants to this event, at least twenty-five ladies at Turnberry covered 450 yards in two shots. He commented that "Each year we shall see longer driving. What strikes me about the driving of lady golfers today is that they "let themselves go" far more than they used to and quite rightly" (August 24 1921).

Women were capable of wielding power in their golf swing and none more so than Cecil. Her spoon and brassie shots were so accurate that she was always hard to beat.

She considered that learning to play on the exposed links at Silloth-on-Solway had much to do with her strength and that of her sisters as "the wind and guttie ball together had an influence on our style and produced in us our powerful and rather man-like swings" (Leitch 1922:21). Contending with the elements for women who were slight in build and perhaps did not posses Cecil's natural strength convinced Joyce Wethered that most women golfers could make up for their shorter distance off the tee by being as accurate as possible on their approach to the greens. As she wrote (Wethered 1933:36), "It was due to her [Cecil's] example that the prevailing belief among the opposite sex that ladies were incapable of hitting an iron shot effectively was at last dissipated".

In the early 1920s, Joyce challenged what had been Cecil's domination of the game in the pre and immediate post-war period. Their meeting in the final of the British Ladies' Open Championship in 1921 was the first of three encounters, Cecil winning on this occasion. Miss Wethered secured victory the following year. At Troon in 1925, Joyce again claimed the title beating Cecil at the 37th hole and in an interview in 1969, Cecil reflected on the build up to the encounter and the effect on the spectators.

> "It was a great final and funnily enough I had been "written off " before the match by certain journalists. There were some eight thousand spectators. Everything stopped and the world and his wife arrived to watch us. As a matter of fact I did not lose the lead until the twenty-fourth hole" (Quoted from *Fairway and Hazard* April 1969:42).

Both these women attracted attention nationally in the press and drew crowds of spectators of both sexes to the major championships. Joyce remembers the effect that this particular encounter had on the people in the town of Troon and the focus it gave to women's golf. Writing in her memoirs of this experience, she appeared surprised by the reaction of the crowd.

> "The crowds on that day were the largest I have ever witnessed at a ladies' match ... A half holiday had been given at the dockyard and the men arrived in masses, bringing their wives and children. During the afternoon the crowd swelled to such a volume that very little control was possible. After every shot it was a struggle to keep one's feet in the rush that followed. We never saw a sight of our shots from the moment that the ball left the club ... The players were frequently left far behind to follow with the less excited members of the company, many of them

> hampered with perambulators and babies, and by elderly relatives of uncertain ages" (1933:63-4).

The society magazine *The Gentlewoman* reported on the excitement of the spectators and that "it needed all the efforts of the stewards to keep them under control" (May 30 1925). Although golf was important to this town it is perhaps surprising that the shops and factories should close and that children be given a holiday from school for a women's golf championship. Helen Nimmo, a youngster of nineteen at the time, remembered the impression that these women golfers had made on her and was somewhat astonished that there was so much interest from the general public.[7]

The mid 1920s saw women's golf emerge as a spectator sport partly due to the success of these players and others like them and their ability to engage interest with an audience. Joyce Wethered's way of dealing with an animated and excitable crowd was to affect an air of detachment. Her extreme power of concentration and mental focus was centred on her own game and not on that of her opponent. When play went to an extra hole in the 1925 final, the crowd encircled the green and reacted enthusiastically to Miss Wethered as she holed her putt to win. In contrast, at St Andrews in 1908, the LGU officials had tried to suppress the applause from spectators at the British Ladies' Open Championship. It was unusual for onlookers to react to the performance of players at that time. Miss Maud Titterton, who went on to win that particular championship, obviously appreciated the support and was not distracted by the enthusiasm of a crowd estimated at between three and four thousand. She later referred to them as "that great wall of humanity" (*The Ladies' Field* June 6 1908:30).

Reflecting on each other's attributes many years later, Cecil and Joyce in separate interviews conducted by *Fairway and Hazard*, considered that they had been influenced by each other. Cecil, who had developed a strong, flat swing, admitted that "I was considered very long with a driver and a brassie and longer than my opponents, but a poor putter generally" (*Fairway and Hazard* April 1969:43). Nevertheless, Cecil noticed that she could learn something from the putting of Joyce who, she considered, had "a sound method of hitting the ball", the result of study and practice (Cossey 1984:165). Joyce contended that this was the part of her game in which she was not strong but on which she had been prepared to work. "I was better at the rest of the game. I fortunately had the faculty of getting that putt in that

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[7] From notes taken before recorded interview with Helen Nimmo, June 23 1997.

mattered. I was always worried before a big match about my putting. In fact as far as that goes I practised more putting than anything else" (*Fairway and Hazard* April 1970:51).

Cecil considered the changes which she noticed in Joyce's style could be attributed to the techniques employed by some of the successful male players of the 1920s. Joyce had apparently altered her method of playing with wooden clubs and had incorporated a follow-through similar to Bobby Jones, winner of the US Open Championship in 1923. Jones in turn had been influenced by a Scot, Stewart Maiden, from whom he copied his flowing rhythmical swing. Developments in the swing pattern studied from players like Jones directed more golfers to consider copying this style. Alice Clark of the Merchants of Edinburgh Club had tried to incorporate a follow-through in her swing pattern. In an interview she quoted a couple of verses of a popular song originating in the USA in the 1920s, *Follow-thru* (American spelling) the lyrics of which were an object lesson for life as well as golf.

> "If you want your longest ball, follow-thru.
> Don't pull up or pause at all, follow-thru,
> When you need a mighty whack,
> what's the use of holding back.
> Let the weight of your attack, follow-thru.
>
> No half measures bring it off, follow-thru.
> In bigger things than golf, follow-thru,
> So whenever we may be,
> on a job or on a tee,
> Here's a tip for you and me, follow-thru".[8]

7.3.3 The American style and influence

The style of the American golfers both male and female and their input into the game was a considerable influence on golfers in Scotland and England as more participated in tournament play on this side of the Atlantic. Not only was their participation welcomed but they brought to golf a certain flair and style. Bobby Jones who first played in the British Amateur Championship in 1921 and Walter Hagen, who won the British 'Open' in 1922, were always elegantly attired. Hagen dressed flamboyantly in well cut 'plus fours', smart shirts and bow ties as well as two-tone golf shoes. His introduction of cardigan sweaters and pullovers in pastel shades set a

[8] The song, "Follow Thru" by DeSylva, Brown and Henderson, was published in 1928.

standard of elegance for men to emulate. British men would not have been considered leaders in fashion on the links in the 1920s, but they did favour 'plus fours' which was the most typical of the garments worn for golf. **Fig.27** This type of clothing was later abandoned in the 1930s in favour of flannel trousers. In turn women golfers copied some of the styles from American female golfers. The most obvious change from the past in women's clothing was the shortening of the skirt with the exposure of the leg from the knee down. From photographic evidence upturned hems of five or six inches on skirts were not uncommon, which suggests that skirts of tweed or knitted material were revamped and worn at three quarter length or even shorter to the knees. Women's clothing was more casual than it had been in the previous period. Soft collared blouses or shirts, ties and jumpers replaced stiff collared shirts and tailored jackets. V-necked jumpers were long, loose and sometimes rather shapeless. **Fig.28**

Some of the ladies who played in the 1923 Scottish Championship at Lossiemouth wore broad brimmed hats with a ribbon or instead of a hat., a bandeau. Cecil Leitch had made the bandeau a popular item of headgear. With strong winds being a major factor to contend with for golfers, the bandeau was a considerable aid to keeping stray locks of hair in place. Headgear was still considered an essential part of the woman golfer's image and only a very few women abandoned wearing a hat altogether. The basis of a new "boyish" look in the 1920s was short hair and few golfers appeared in photographs with anything other than cropped hair just visible under their cloche hats. Inherent in the fashionable magazines of this decade was the image of the youthful golfing girl "swinging across the green links" with skirts exposing a bit more than an ankle. But it could be argued that this was for marketing purposes and the general perception of the woman golfer was still that of a frumpish middle-aged woman clad in tweeds.

It was Glenna Collett, the American champion, who reflected a youthful energy and added some colour in contrast to the often drab presentation of women golfers in Scotland. In the British Ladies' Open in Troon in 1925 and four years later in St Andrews, she failed to win the title but charmed the public, not only with her multi-coloured, patterned v-necked sweater and smart dark skirt, but also by displaying a philosophical attitude in defeat and a generosity of spirit in her admiration of her opponent, Joyce Wethered (Mair 1992:78).

7.3.4 Ready to wear clothing

With an economy moving towards mass-marketed consumer products aimed at the middle-class, improvements and innovations were evident in golfing equipment and in the quality of golf clothing inspired by the leisure industry in the USA. This had significance for the consumer society in Britain. As Ewing indicates (1986:129) in her study of twentieth century fashion, at the beginning of the 1930s "the demand was increasing for good quality ready to wear fashion which would appeal to the big stores and speciality shops by attracting the clientele of the previous bespoke trade. This meant good manufacture, sizing and finishing". If women wanted to appear on the golf course wearing up-to-the minute fashions then there was plenty of choice in ready to wear clothes designed for comfort as well as changeable weather conditions.

The sports manufacturer Dunlop produced a lightweight shower-proof golf jacket with 'freedom' sleeves designed so that there was no elbow pull and the wearer had freedom at the shoulders and under the arms. Any garment which gave the golfer freer movement was welcomed. This garment was advertised as allowing for "the ideal rhythmic movement so essential for the perfect swing" (Advertised in *Fairway and Hazard* April 1933:171) **Fig.29** "Is it", asked Wanda Morgan, a former player "no wonder the modern woman hits the ball with such abandon. She ought to!" (*Golf Illustrated* April 27 1934). That women golfers were able to play with more "abandon" was as a result of changes in the cut of clothing produced by the manufacturers of sporting goods and in more comfortable under-garments. The 1930s golfers who wore skirts which gave maximum freedom, jumpers or cardigans and a beret or soft hat offered a sharp contrast to the Victorian and Edwardian golfers who had to endure a bone compressing corset, a full length voluminous skirt, a high stiff collar with necktie, a blazer and straw boater, all of which had curtailed, for many, the golf swing to a half or three-quarters.

7.3.5 Trousers

Since the adoption of trousers by women has been the most significant change in fashion of the twentieth century, why was it that women golfers were exceptionally slow to adopt this type of clothing? Trousers were comfortable to wear and more practical than a skirt when it came to coping with wind and rain, but it could be argued that they symbolised a non-feminine identity and for traditionalists signified a break with the feminine image of a golfer in a skirt. Officials in the LGU had

difficulty in coming to terms with women wearing trousers. In 1933, at the English Championship, Miss Gloria Minoprio from Littlestone appeared in black trousers and a tight fitting sweater and upset the LGU administrators. Her appearance flaunted all the conventions of 'appropriate dress' at this time for lady golfers. Miss Minoprio might be regarded as a "one-off" character as she was the only woman to appear at this event wearing trousers and the only golfer to use one club.[9] **Fig.30** Jessie Valentine from Perth, who competed at many of the major tournaments, remembered her as "rather unusual", not so much for her attire but for the fact that she only used one club. She and her fellow golfers were determined that they had to beat her.

> "We were all frightened we would get her in the draw and get beaten by somebody with one club. She dressed in black all the time ... she was always in black; black trousers, black top and a black hat ... She had a caddie to carry her extra club. If she broke that one she would have this one to fall back on ... I think it was about a three iron or something and she won one or two rounds too. She was a good golfer ... I think she must have been a bit queer to play with one club ... She never spoke to any of us. She kept herself to herself" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103).

Miss Minoprio was reputed to have been an amateur conjuror in the 1930s and the way in which she manufactured shots using only one club as well as her unorthodox appearance intrigued some of her fellow competitors. It was her habit to appear at quite literally the last minute before she was due to play. After competitions and matches, she did not socialise with anyone and disappeared as if by magic. Miss Minoprio attracted attention in the national press and gave the LGU some concern over her trousers rather than her manner of play. The LGU did not mention her by name, but issued an official statement expressing the view that they "deplored any departure from the traditional costume of the game" (Quoted in Cossey 1984:115). They considered that tight sweaters were provocative and trousers were "inappropriate" for golf. The LGU insisted on maintaining a sense of propriety and decorum in the tournaments and saw it as their responsibility to enforce standards of dress. Miss Minoprio's unconventional appearance was commented on by Enid Wilson in 1971 when she declared that "Today Miss Minoprio's tactics would be dismissed instantly as the ingenuity of a master-mind behind a commercial concern wishing to promote something new in sports clothing. But in the 1930s such an idea was absurd because big business had not turned its attention to golf promotions" (Quoted from Steel 1971:66). A publicity stunt might not have been the intention in

[9] Her unorthodox attire was considered important enough to deserve a place in a display of women's golfing dress through the ages, in the British Golf Museum at St Andrews.

this case, but it took an incident like this to set into motion a change in attitude. Miss Minoprio may have broken the rules by wearing inappropriate dress, but like Suzanne Lenglen[10] in the tennis world, she drew attention to the way women golfers could present themselves, by breaking the mould and discarding the obligatory tweed skirt and loose fitting cardigan. Although she did not start any immediate trend her appearance nevertheless drew comment from other women golfers, as well as the press and the public. Miss Molly Gourlay, who was to captain the first British women's golf team to tour South Africa in 1933, when asked whether any of her team would be wearing trousers responded with a very decisive, "No!". She went on to comment on the official "uniform" for her ladies.

> "The LGU has never even discussed the subject of trousers for women players, and I do not think that my team would care to wear them. They prefer sports clothes, neatly tailored, and usually play in tweed skirts, with shirt blouses and cardigans or pullovers. When playing championship or exhibition matches, they always wear the LGU tie and badge" (Quoted from the *Cape Times* October 20 1933).[11]

This conventional "uniform" might not have seemed the most appropriate one, given the climate of South Africa, but the dictates of the LGU were such that conformity was expected when one's country was being represented. Those who were chosen to represent their country accepted that they must adhere to the standards expected by the LGU. By contrast *Golf Illustrated* saw no objections to the introduction of trousers for the ordinary woman golfer and pointed this out in an editorial in 1934.

> "Many arguments could be advanced on their behalf. For golf they are warmer; they afford less wind resistance; better protection for the legs in wet and cold weather; they are certainly more comfortable; and most important of all, they emphasise in the woman's mind the sense of her complete emancipation" (*Golf Illustrated* November 4 1934:86).

But although this might have been an indication of how clothing had advanced in functional terms, the acceptance (in principle) of trousers did not necessarily equate emancipation in women's minds with emancipation on the golf course. The majority of lady golfers were fairly conservative about their appearance and were conscious of the critical comments of others. From the pictorial evidence in the golfing journals, lady golfers appeared not to want to lose their "femininity" by adopting what some

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[10] Suzanne Lenglen, the French tennis champion, had initiated a 'shock' for Wimbledon in the 1920s when she bounded on to the court in a loose, sleeveless white dress minus petticoat and stockings.

[11] This newspaper cutting appeared in Molly Gourlay's scrapbook in the LGU archive. LGU.69.004.

considered "masculine" garb and only if they thought of themselves as ultra modern did trousers take the place of a skirt.

Jessie Valentine recalled that before she left with the British team to play in Australia and New Zealand in 1935, they were informed about the statutory dress regulations.

> "When we went to Australia, Pam Barton was the only one that wore trousers here [in Britain], and she was told she wasn't allowed to wear them in Australia. Australia wouldn't let you wear trousers on the golf course" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103).

In spite of their authoritarian attitude to representative teams, the LGU could do little to stop the wearing of trousers by ordinary club golfers if that was their wish. Lillywhites, the sports outfitter, forecast that "Trousers will be worn by women golfers this winter and what women are going to do tomorrow is usually an open secret ..." (Quoted from *Golf Illustrated* November 4 1934).

The increase in the number of advertisements for trousers indicates that there was a vogue for this fashion from the mid 1930s. The following advertisement for a trouser suit was couched in such terms as to appear inoffensive to even the most discriminating LGU official.

> "Trouser suits as designed and tailored by Lillywhites are no longer regarded as a fashion freak of the few. On the contrary, they are being worn everywhere by discriminating Women Golfers who realise that - PROPERLY CUT - a Trouser Suit provides practical efficiency without sacrificing femininity in any way" (Quoted from an advertisement in *The Bystander* October 23 1935).

Interestingly, although marketed as a suit, the garments could be bought separately, giving those who might have been rather wary of the trousers a skirt instead to team up with the jacket. The fashion for trousers appeared to be acceptable as long as women still maintained an elegant appearance and did not relinquish their femininity completely. With the emphasis on tailoring, trousers could be attractive in appearance as well as comfortable and practical. The 'in between' look, the *trouser-skirt,* was adopted by those who wanted the freedom of trousers but the discretion of a skirt. This garment hung like a skirt and was indistinguishable from a regular skirt

when the wearer was standing, but gave the full freedom of trousers when striding out.

7.3.6 Trousers versus the skirt

It was very much a personal preference whether trousers or skirts were worn. Helen Holm, one of the leading Scottish players, did much to promote the wearing of trousers for golf in Scotland as well as starting a fashion for wearing berets as opposed to hats in the mid 1930s. She frequently turned up in trousers and received headline treatment by the press, not only for her for her smart appearance but also for her outstanding golf. In the 1937 Scottish Ladies' Championship, played at Gleneagles, she received headline coverage from the Glasgow newspaper, the *Evening Times*. The report entitled "Mrs Holm Favourite for Title" began as follows "Mrs Holm was an outstanding figure on the course being coolly garbed in a light grey blouse and flannel slacks ..." (June 23 1937). The writer chose to focus first on fashion, but followed up by giving more lengthy coverage of the results in the Ladies' Championship. Those who looked elegant were not singled out for any disparaging remarks. Helen Nimmo, a fellow contender for the title who was beaten by Helen Holm in the semi-final, preferred to wear a skirt.

> "I only wore trousers when it was wet ... I had mackintosh trousers, but they had only just really become fashionable after the war and I never had a pair of anything except mackintosh trousers to play in the rain ...Yes. Well all the others did play in trousers. Helen Holm was very neat always. She was so nice looking and she in fact always wore trousers" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Being rather tall and well built, Helen Nimmo tended to wear the type of clothes which suited her and which she felt most comfortable wearing. **Fig.33** An article in *Golf Illustrated* in 1939 offered advice to potential wearers on the "suitability" of trousers.

> "Not every woman is suited by this style, although it is most attractive for some, but in every case as far as appearance is concerned, its success depends on the garments being well tailored by a House that fully understands the subject" (*Golf Illustrated* April 22 1939).

The 'House' of Lillywhites assured their customers that only well cut trousers in proofed corduroy and flannel would be the styles for the 1939 golf season. Although

manufacturers were keen to attract the lady golfer into purchasing their fashionable garments, they advised them that it was always wise to consider the value which was offered before making any purchases. Until the end of the 1930s, those who did wear trousers for golf were very definitely a minority.

7.3.7 Reporting on sportsmanship

Fashions in clothing was only one of the issues receiving comment in the press. Other aspects of women's golf were reported in the sports pages of newspapers or in golfing magazines. Former players who commentated on ladies' golf were interested in national differences, in players' attitudes to the game as well as admiring their sense of fair play. Eleanor Helme, writing in *The Tatler*, observed something among Scottish golfers which she had not recognised in their English counterparts, that of a particular attitude to opponents as well as partners.

> "They do not seem nearly so madly keen to beat one another as to beat the course, the elements and the original sin, which is in all golfers, by playing really well. Somebody else's fine golf appears just as pleasing to any one of them as their own" (*The Tatler* July 6 1932).

Interestingly, other reporters had also observed this quality amongst Scottish players. They did not seem to have a "win at all costs" attitude. Major Guy Campbell drew attention to the positive spirit in which the women's game was played and admired the attitude taken especially by women who competed at the highest level. He was particularly impressed by Helen Holm, who played "confidently, determinedly and pleasantly". But it was her approach that he was struck by, observing that " ... she is a grand golfer who gets grand results without a suspicion of the grand manner. It is all done quietly and efficiently" (*Golf Illustrated* May 25 1934). It was a modesty combined with skill and sportsmanship in Helen Holm, which Mrs Jean Anderson (Jean Donald), a former amateur, considered so worthy.

> "She was so nice to her opponents that she would sometimes beat herself ... she suggested that I go with her to the practice ground where she would try to correct the fault which had crept into my swing. When I pointed out that we might meet in the championship she replied, 'That makes no difference, it is more important to me that you should play well'" (*Fairway and Hazard* February 1972:10).

It should not be concluded, however, that Scots were not competitive. *Golf Illustrated* acknowledged that the best golfers in the 1930s could be capable of an aggressive, determined style of play and that "hundreds of women players throughout the country have not only proved the increasing strength of their sex in the game ... the average player is improving by leaps and bounds, while younger players are coming into prominence on all sides" (*Golf Illustrated* January 14 1939). The ethos of golf was to respect fair play and acknowledge effort.

Not only were standards of play improving but there was more emphasis on how golf as a sport might appeal to young women as well as those in middle-age. This was partly due to the successes of young Scottish players like Helen Holm and Jessie Valentine. Jessie had proved to be a fine role model for aspiring young golfers with her achievements in winning the British Girls' Championship in 1933, followed by the New Zealand Open in 1935, the French Open in 1936 and the British Open in 1937. **Fig. 31** Her successes were given prominence in all the sporting publications but restraint prevented her embracing any type of celebrity status. It could also be argued that there was great interest in Helen Holm because she had more freedom than her predecessors to continue playing after marriage. Commentators were quick to draw attention to the fact that Mrs Holm, the wife of a farmer, was the first married woman to win the British Ladies' Open since Mrs Kennion in 1906 at Burnham. Helen Holm and other married players like her were able to continue with their golfing careers, unlike Lady Margaret Scott in the 1890s, who retired from golf after marriage.

7.4 The 1940s

Between the 1920s and the end of the 1930s steady progress was made by female golfers at national and international level with matches and tours abroad, but following the outbreak of war in 1939, little competitive golf was played and major golf competitions were suspended until 1946, when the British Ladies' Open Championship resumed. Restrictions on paper came into operation for the duration of the Second World War and after with the result that news of women's golf in golf journals and magazines was sparse. Some publications either condensed, amalgamated or went out of production. Accounts of ladies' golf activities were reported by *Fairway and Hazard* and *The Tatler* but inevitably on a much reduced scale.

The war interrupted the golfing careers for those who had already achieved national and international success. From 1941 those women without the responsibility of children were directed into war work and many joined the services. Jessie Valentine joined the ATS and drove ambulances giving up golf for five years. Helen Holm combined running a farm with ARP work and Helen Nimmo also joined up and became a Lt Colonel in the ATS, commanding 250 women at the Cameron Barracks in Inverness.[12] Competition for the ordinary club golfer was also intermittent. For those who did manage to play during the war, there was a scarcity of almost every type of commodity, including golf balls. To conserve the materials needed to make new balls, old ones were remoulded, which meant that they were recovered and re-painted. This was done as purely a war time measure as Alice Clark of the Merchants of Edinburgh club confirmed.

> "There was a firm down in the South of England which you could send your old balls to and they would come back as remoulds ... I found in my brother's bag hundreds of [old] balls and we sent them down and they came back ... Richmond, I think was the main centre" (Alice Clark SA 1996.55).

Clothes rationing too had come into force in June 1941 and had curtailed the purchase of specialised clothes for sport. However, not all women were concerned with their appearance and some never even considered that special clothes were needed for golf. According to one club player's experience,

> "Well when I first played golf you wore your old clothes to golf. You always wore them out ... that will do for golf and that was what you wore... Yes, I'm sure Alice [Clark] will remember that she wore her old clothes to golf" (Marjorie Whitton SA 1996. 53&54).

Shortages during and after the war meant wearing whatever was available. The policy for golfers as for the rest of society was "make do and mend" with garments being re-vamped as was necessary. It was at this time that women who had become accustomed to dressing practically had fewer inhibitions about donning trousers for golf. Women in the forces, in factories or on the land had become accustomed to wearing trousers for their jobs and now had more opportunity to wear them on the golf course.

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[12] Notes taken before recorded interview with Helen Nimmo, June 23 1997.

> "The war changed a lot you see. They were getting into the insides of cars and that and they had to wear trousers because of machinery ... and the ATS, they were issued with uniforms and trousers were amongst the uniform ... Oh I wore them. Oh yes, that was always all right. I just don't have the figure for them nowadays" (Marjorie Whitton SA 1996.53&54).

Trousers in the 1930s and 40s were referred to as 'slacks'. The word slacks had certain associations with casualness and those who wore them sometimes had to contend with derogatory comments. In some golf clubs, rules were introduced stating, often a little ambiguously, that to conform with the dress rules, ladies should remove their slacks before entering the lounge! (Mair 1992:43).

7.4.1 The American influence

Arguably, it was the American golfers who rejuvenated the game when competitive golf resumed on a national level in Scotland after the Second World War. Although lady golfers from America and Europe had come to Britain as individual entrants like Glenna Collett in the 1920s, according to Jessie Valentine, it was only the wealthy Americans who could afford to travel then.

> "Unless they came over and played in the Curtis Cup when it was here, they would be here, otherwise not many. One or two would come over ... ones with plenty money would come over" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

7.4.2 Babe Zaharias

One woman in particular caught the attention of the public and press in 1947 when she entered for the British Ladies' Open Championship at Gullane. Mildred Didrikson Zaharias,[13] one of the most versatile athletes in the history of women's sports, gave women's golf a much needed boost and became an inspiration to Scottish women golfers. She had formerly played baseball and had the reputation for hitting home runs. This female with a distinctly boyish figure was nicknamed Babe after the great baseball player "Babe Ruth". An athlete of extraordinary ability, Babe had broken the world javelin record at the age of sixteen and won gold medals for the javelin and hurdles as well as a silver medal for the high jump in the 1932 Olympics. Basketball and baseball were the sports which dominated her life. A Dallas newspaper viewed her as someone who had "an almost complete absence of

[13] See Chapter Six.

feminine frills ... She follows no particular plan with her clothes" (Quoted from Kahn 1996:40).This heightened the impression of masculinity in her appearance. **Fig.32** Enid Wilson considered that she represented "the first of the atomic and jet age women strikers of the ball. She stood straight up and with squared stance delivered all the might she could muster ... Her swing was too forceful to be pretty, and many of her strokes finished way off line" (Quoted from Steel 1965:210-11). Babe's playing style, combined with an outgoing personality reminiscent of Cecil Leitch, was a challenge for her opponents.

Babe's encounter in the first round of the Ladies' Open Championship was against Helen Nimmo, who was out of practice, having played very little golf during the war. Miss Nimmo recalled her match with Babe.

> "I knew she was frightfully good. I kept her going until about halfway and after that, her length ... and I was out of practice anyway. I think I was beaten 5 and 4 or something like that which wasn't too bad, but she hit the ball miles and she was very, very good ...They all said "It's a good thing Helen's drawn Zaharias because she never cares whether she wins or loses", that's me, but of course I did. But I knew I'd lose that time and she won the whole thing" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

Helen Nimmo, like other Scots, was modest about her own ability and did not consider that she was of the standard of Helen Holm or Jessie Valentine, let alone Babe Zaharias. While Helen might have lacked power because of her full swing, she would also have been at times demoralised with an opponent who could hit the ball such a distance.

> "I wasn't really very good ... no I was quite ... a middle Scottish International with a pretty full swing ... (pointing to a photograph of herself) you can see there that I was over-swinging" (Helen Nimmo SA 1997.130).

The Scotsman (June 10 1947) reported Helen's encounter with Babe in terms of the physicality of the two players. "The Scot, though big and of good physique, lacked the business-like swing and punch of the American. She [Babe] won by 6 and 5". A woman who could reach the back of a 540 yard hole in two shots was unheard of in the 1940s. There were, Helen Nimmo recalls, 'big crowds' at Gullane who had heard about this woman's formidable power. Jessie Valentine was disappointed not to have the opportunity to play against Babe.

> "No I've never played her ... I got beaten the round before I was due to meet her (laughter) at Gullane" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

Jessie was defeated in her semi-final and missed the opportunity. However in the other semi-final, Babe's opponent was another Scot, Jean Donald from Gullane, the Scottish Champion and local favourite. This encounter had been billed in the press as a "battle of the giants", Scotland versus America. The Associated Press reported the encounter in sensational terms.

> "The crowd attracted by the report that the Scottish Champion was out to slay the American Champion, grew to almost unmanageable proportions. Estimated by golf writers as between 5000 and 8000, the gallery was the largest of the season - far larger than the crowd which gathered to watch the British men's amateur at Carnoustie two weeks ago. Nearly 100 stewards barely preserved order" (Quoted from Zaharias 1956:167).

Jean Donald was not able to live up to these expectations and give of her best on the day against such formidable opposition. She was well beaten. It says much that this particular match could attract more spectators than the Men's Amateur tournament. Prior to the Championship, Babe had been astonished while watching a match in the Home Internationals, that the crowd remained silent even when a player holed a shot from a lengthy distance. The reserved nature of the Scots crowd perplexed her. It was explained to her that this absence of reaction was the Scottish crowd's sign of respect. However, she had been touched by the generosity of the local people who had made her welcome. Not being prepared for cold weather, she had brought only shorts and lightweight skirts with her and without clothing coupons, was not able to purchase any warm clothing. Hearing of her plight, parcels of clothing arrived for her from all over the country, including one which contained a pair of corduroy trousers which she wore for the final.

Her opponent in the final, an English player, Jacqueline Gordon, gave Babe a little opposition for the first eighteen holes of the thirty-six hole final, but this challenge was short lived. *The Scotsman* reported Babe's quip on her win.

> "Never at a loss for a "wisecrack", she [Babe]cheerily remarked: "it was the trousers that did it" - a reference to her change to the familiar blue slacks ... from the skirt which she wore in the morning round" (*The Scotsman* June 13 1947).

Babe Zaharias was the first American-born golfer to win the British Ladies' Open Championship. Returning to America she re-joined the professional ranks and took part in exhibition matches.[14] Her golfing career was ultimately shortened by illness and in the early 1950s, she developed cancer and died in 1956.[15]

7.5 The 1950s

Americans continued to be an important influence on the British partly due to 'Babe' Zaharias's impact on the post-war women's game and in projecting such a dynamic image of a woman golfer. As far as appearance was concerned, the Americans tended to spend money on golf attire and were stylish and smart, while the British players, who had less choice because of war-time shortages, remained rather drab and dowdy by comparison.

7.5.1 A new image for representative teams

Fashion designers did attempt to suggest that women golfers should alter their image, especially when British teams were representing the country in international competitions. In 1954 a leading sports designer, Teddy Tinling, was asked by the LGU to give their International team a corporate image by designing a uniform for the Curtis Cup team. By using man-made rather than woven fabrics, this was an attempt to bring golf clothing into the realms of 'haute couture'. The concept of a corporate team identity unknown in the 1930s, was seen as being rather innovative.

Conducting an interview with Teddy Tinling in 1954, Betty Debenham of *Fairway and Hazard* enquired if Britain could take a lead in the world in golf wear.

> "I am convinced that we can do this, just as we already do in tennis. America was far ahead of us at one time, but our golf fashions are catching up rapidly with all the new materials that are available now. For instance most of the fabrics I suggested for the Curtis Cup team were not in existence over here a year ago" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1954:153).

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[14] See Chapter Six for other references to Babe playing as a professional in the 1930s.

[15] Her name lives on in an annual tournament played in Edinburgh in aid of Cancer Research, the 'Babe Zaharias Ladies' Open Tournament', where players compete for the Serbin silver rose bowl, a trophy won by Babe in Miami in 1955 which her husband, George, presented to Torphin Hill Golf Club in 1962 in her memory. Jessie Valentine is among previous winners of this trophy.

Clothing made from materials such as Terylene and Courtelle was considered easier to clean and press offering less of a problem to care for than tweeds and other suitings. These lighter synthetic fabrics were already used by Tingling for tennis clothing. Persuading women golfers to alter their image and adopt some of the new fabrics could be difficult but Tinling was convinced that if the right quality and design of clothes was offered, there should not be a problem for golfers to accept.

> "...the British tradition of superb tailoring and real quality in sportswear can be ideally applied to golf clothes, and there is no possible reason why these should not also reflect all the latest fashion points ... I am sure that the feeling of starting out smartly (and of course, suitably) dressed gives added confidence to every type of player" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1954:153).

His theory of dressing for sport incorporated the idea that clothes could inspire confidence as well as appealing to the fashion conscious sportswomen. Skirts, he thought, should be straight in front, with attention being paid to the back, because there was so much bending over in golf.

> "Clever seams and pleats on the godets[16] will take away most of that 'broad in the beam look' look if a skirt is well designed ... the slim, straight outline is much more becoming than the flares and wide hemlines of old" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1954:153).

However his opinion of women wearing slacks was that they were more suited for casual wear rather than for golfing. He preferred to see women wearing golf skirts rather than trousers or shorts and maintained that

> "There isn't a woman, however beautiful her figure, who doesn't look better in skirts' ... 'suitability' was one of my ingredients for good dressing. In the Southern States of America and in hot climates I have seen women looking very attractive indeed playing golf in shorts, but I can't believe that shorts for golf would look 'suitable' in our climate. I want our players to be the envy of other countries and this *can* be achieved if they *will* set the highest possible example by wearing only what is becoming and elegant, and at all times well-groomed" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1954:153).

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[16] Godets were pieces of fabric triangular in shape and wider at the bottom than the top which were sewn into the skirt to increase fullness.

A year earlier, writing in *Fairway and Hazard*, Anne Price the fashion editor had argued that little imagination had been shown by designers in using the latest dress fabrics for golf clothing, with the exception of Teddy Tinling. His new collection included styles for the coming winter which would look equally good on "slight or heavy figures" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1953:159). The collection included a light-weight Donegal tweed skirt with a plain front and a tiny zip pocket on one side and a little fan of pleats placed to one side of the back which did not hinder walking or swinging a club and gave the golfer freedom of movement. While many might agree that it was important to wear clothes which suited the climate, a 'Teddy Tinling skirt' (not trousers or shorts) was adopted as the uniform for the members of the Curtis Cup team in 1954 for their matches in the USA.

7.5.2 Jessie Valentine and Barbara Romack

When individuals from the USA came over to play in the Curtis Cup or to compete in the British Ladies' Open Championship, the difference in their appearance was often the subject of comment. While Americans had accepted more readily synthetic materials for golf and casual wear, Scottish golfers continued to appear in serviceable tweeds and twin sets. In 1955, two of the finest golfers representing Scotland and America contended the final for the title of British Open Champion. Jessie Valentine from Scotland and the American, Barbara Romack were pictured after the presentation of the Championship trophy to Jessie who was the victor (*Fairway and Hazard* June 1955). **Fig. 34** Visually the contrast between these two women golfers, albeit, wearing 'apres golf' attire, is a striking one of 'traditional' and 'modern'. Jessie Valentine, the senior of the two, as representative of the "home of golf", stands with her arms by her sides in a heavy-weight tweed suit while Barbara Romack, aged twenty-two, adopts a more relaxed pose. Blond, tanned and dressed in a three quarter length ribbed pale synthetic skirt, with a buttoned shirt and contrasting dark cardigan, she represents the new post-war woman golfer.

Despite differences in their outward appearance, these two had much in common. They were both prodigiously talented. Miss Romack had been encouraged into golf and had the financial support of her father who owned a plumbing supply business in Sacramento. She was the reigning U.S. National Champion, as well as a Curtis Cup internationalist. Jessie, in her early days, had been supported by her father who was a professional golfer. With the more competitive experience of the two, Jessie had already won the British Championship in 1937 at the age of twenty-two. She also had

Curtis Cup experience and had won the Scottish as well as other overseas titles. In physical appearance both were small in stature; Miss Romack at the height of five feet four inches had acquired the nickname of "Little Tiger", because in match play she had the reputation of being fairly aggressive, while Mrs Valentine still answered to her nickname "wee Jessie", which she had acquired when she first played in the Girls' Championship in 1932 at the age of sixteen (*Fairway and Hazard* December 1960:231).

Barbara was recognised as having a flamboyant lifestyle and her name regularly appeared in the social columns almost as much as in the sports section of the newspapers. Self-assured, confident and a prime example of the "glamorous" golfer, she was known to have a collection of golf shoes which included a pair with zebra stripes. (Glenn 1991:231). Jessie, on the other hand was not a trend setter and remained conservatively attired for golf. One could argue that it was not in the nature of Scottish golfers to draw attention to themselves by 'dressing up' for golf as Marjorie Whitton has pointed out.[17] In spite of the availability of more fashionable attire, golfers were all too aware that synthetic fabrics were not always suitable for the Scottish climate.

7.6 The 1960s and the shape of things to come

From photographic evidence in the golfing journals, it would seem that Scottish golfers still preferred to wear conventional skirts or tailored trousers and a v necked sweater. The question was, would lady golfers continue to play in skirts, or would they abandon them for a new fashion idea, trews? These close fitting trousers of tartan cloth were as practical as they were warm and appeared to be popular with club golfers in the early 1960s. **Fig.35** Sheila Bryan Smith could see the practicality of wearing trews on "a very cold and windy day", but thought that although she might be seen to represent a minority, these might be more appropriately worn for "apres-golf relaxation". In her opinion, "only the young and slim should be seen in these narrow legged skin-tight trews on the golf course" (*Fairway and Hazard* October 1961:203). There still seemed to be an antipathy amongst officialdom for tight fitting trousers.

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[17] See reference to wearing 'old' clothes earlier in this chapter.

The LGU still apparently favoured a fairly conservative appearance for team members when playing international matches at home. The Scottish International team wore neat cardigans with a thistle emblem as part of their uniform in 1962. **Fig.36** As representatives of British ladies' golf, teams had a responsibility to adhere to the standards set by the LGU. A well dressed player must be seen as a good ambassador for golf. Therefore Curtis Cup players representing Britain in Porthcawl in 1964 wore dark blue blazers with the International badge, plain grey skirts or grey slacks, V necked cashmere sweaters designed by *Pringle of Scotland* and white shirts with small collars.

When the short skirt or 'mini' became part of the fashion scene in the mid 1960s for general wear, the discussion centred on whether it would last. Celia Workman, now fashion editor of *Fairway and Hazard*, considered it a 'gimmick'. Women should "look smart on the golf course AT ALL TIMES" was the message directed to golfers (*Fairway and Hazard* September 1965:168). Miss Workman, recommended that women should take a good look at themselves before they discarded the orthodox knee length skirt.

> "Knees are not one of the more attractive parts of the anatomy and are better out of sight ... Whatever one wears below the waist arouses criticism" (*Fairway and Hazard* September 1965:168).

During the late 1960s and early 70s, when leisure wear became an increasingly important part of women's sport, skirt lengths, despite Miss Workman's concerns, rose to at least three inches above the knee. But it was trousers which were worn for golf now by more women than ever before. Younger women brought more style into the golf clubs, preferring to wear trousers rather than culottes or skirts, and they in turn activated some of the older "tweed skirt brigade" to adopt a degree of change in their attitude as well as their attire.

Considering the importance of clothes to women, golfers throughout the late 19th and early part of the 20th century retained a sense of tradition in their observance of what they considered appropriate clothing for golf. Only when they wanted to be more active did they discard formal attire. They were led by the opinions of those who gave advice in golfing journals and respected the standards set by the LGU. Scottish golfers were little different from their counterparts in the rest of Britain, taking time to alter their attire in order to give themselves a freer playing style. Skirts,

as has been argued, symbolised femininity and were *the* "perpetual and restraining monitor" (Luck 1996:141). All too often innovations like divided skirts were derided as inappropriate and viewed by the administrators of women's golf with suspicion when in fact they would have been a sensible option. For women golfers in the second half of the 20th century, wearing trousers symbolised an ability to inhabit simultaneously the male and female world. The clothing companies, Lyle and Scott, Pringle and Daks had all produced sweaters, sports shirts and trousers, in a colour range of pastel shades which continued to reflect a woman's femininity, but was at the same time up-to-date. Branded clothing with logos could be worn without incurring any reprimands from the LGU.[18] By the end of the 1970s, they could if they wished be stylish in appearance and purposeful in their commitment as sportswomen, rather than be the subject of critical comment.

[18] Specialised clothing for sport has become a major part of the leisure wear industry with retail outlets such as golf professionals' shops, providing an outlet for a range of clothing considered to appeal to women.

Chapter Eight

The Contemporary Game

As has been stressed throughout this thesis, avenues of access and the ways in which women have been introduced into sport have been fundamental in the development of women's golf over more than a century. The opportunity for participation in golf is dependent on time and circumstances dictated by the social pattern of women's lives. Importantly some women have been able to devote time to the administration of the game and have made an important contribution in this way. Accordingly, this chapter considers developments in the 1990s in the way the LGU and the SLGA operate with a focus on how individuals have been involved in administration within the associations.

Among the "mass" of women golfers are those with leadership skills whose enthusiasm for the game has resulted in encouraging the participation of the young. By initiating coaching schemes for girls, links have been established between schools and clubs which is important for the future development of the game. Two such schemes in operation in Dunbar and St Andrews are discussed and the views of those who have participated in them will be examined. Consideration is also given to the merits of golf scholarships or bursaries in Scottish universities as well as in the USA and the effect this has for those who want to pursue a career in golf and for the future of the game in Scotland.

Although we have been considering women's golf as a general concept, it is necessary to stress that represented within the sport are unique individuals. The prowess of exceptional golfers has been revealed as important in the historical development of the game and in the late 20th century, this is where the evidence of oral testimony can throw some light on the experience of golf in Scotland. The opportunities and accomplishments of a talented young player of the 1990s if compared to those of a recognised and accomplished champion representative of an earlier era, can be revealing. Therefore, by comparing Vikki Laing from Musselburgh with Jessie Valentine from Perth we can assess the changes as well as the continuities prevalent in women's golf in different eras in the 20th century.

8.1 Updating the role of the SLGA

From those involved in administering amateur competitions to the general day to day running of golf, the evidence of personal testimony can put into context the commitment of time required in organising the game for women in Scotland. Finding sponsorship, developing national competitions and organising the coaching and training of representative teams are among the undertakings which involve individuals within the governing bodies. Having already established in Chapter Three how women's golf was organised and administered from the late 19th and early part of the 20th century by the LGU and the SLGA, it is now important to consider the outcome of change and development as effected by women towards the end of the 20th century.

8.1.1 The role of the volunteer on the SLGA executive committee

Agnes Grainger established the SLGA in 1904 after successfully organising the 1903 Scottish Championship. By inviting women who were interested in representing the golf clubs in Scotland at that time[1], she formed an executive committee to further the interests of the amateur game 'for the good of golf' in Scotland, with the hope that more women would recognise the benefits of actively participating. While it took time for women involved in clubs to realise the benefits of belonging to an organisation which would represent their interests, this body developed over the century and by 1998, could claim the affiliation of 429 clubs in Scotland. The number of clubs involved indicated the geographic spread of the women's game in Scotland with each area being given representation on the executive committee.[2] Whereas in the past a President might have been distinguished in name only, those who rise to this position in the official hierarchy are honoured for their past achievements and the valuable service they have given to Scottish golf. The roles of Chairman and Vice Chairman are positions which have more significance in the 1990s as those who undertake to serve play an active part as members of a working executive committee. Two major requirements are that women taking on these roles must be willing to devote time to serving on the executive committee and must be prepared to be adaptable in performing a variety of duties to serve the needs of

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[1] Approximately 50 ladies' golf clubs had been established in Scotland up to 1903. See Appendix II.
[2] The *Lady Golfer's Handbook* (1998) lists the geographical regions as Borders, Central, Dumfries and Galloway, Fife, Grampian, Highland, Lothian, Orkney and Shetland, Strathclyde, Tayside and the Western Isles.

golfers. While Ethel Jack and Marigold Speir[3] were involved with the SLGA from the 1970s in a variety of capacities and recognised for their service to women's golf, among those who were involved from the 1980s Anne Sime from Gullane had a proven record of experience in golf administration and leadership.

> "I was a County Captain from 1989 in East Lothian, but previous to that I had been secretary of Gullane Ladies' for about seven years and then I went straight on to being County Captain and from there I was asked if I would go on to the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association which I did, so I've had about fifteen years non stop in administration" (Anne Sime SA1997.127&128).

Being a club secretary, first at the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club and then at Gullane Ladies', Anne was considered a good organiser and through the County association became a familiar figure.

> "I think it was really because I got known quite well through being secretary of Gullane Ladies' which is a very big club and then I became more generally known when I became county captain" (Anne Sime SA1997.127&128).

Before taking on the responsibilities of office at national level, a thorough grounding in duties experienced at club and county level was expected. Prior to becoming Chairman of the SLGA, Anne Sime served on the executive committee for five years where for two of those years she was Chairman of the Selectors. Being a selector involved observing the form of players who were in contention for representing Scotland and watching them play in some of the major events before recommending to the executive which players would best represent their country.

A commitment to the SLGA executive could be time-consuming and required efficiency as well as dedication. Additionally, progression from one office to another as Anne admitted, required that individuals be adaptable.

> "You are on the Association, on the executive committee for five years and you can be Chairman in your fifth, but sometimes you will get someone who is maybe not fit to be Chairman or who doesn't want to be Chairman, where in that case somebody has to do two years. The Chairman before me did two years and I was Vice-Chairman for two

[3] These women have been referred to elsewhere in this thesis.

> years, so I was travelling around all over the place for three years, but it was very interesting" (Anne Sime SA 1997.127&128).

Women who became involved in golf administration might decide that the time commitment was too great and demit office early. In the early part of the 20th century, those who became involved on the executive were 'ladies of leisure'. Arguably those who were in the retired or older age group were often considered for appointment as they supposedly had more time than those who were working. However since the 1970s, working women like Ethel Jack and Marigold Speir combined full-time jobs with their duties on the executive committee. Although general members of the executive were unpaid, the Chairman received an honorarium in her year of office.

> " ... when I was Chairman of the SLGA, we were in Milan with the Senior team and the year before when I was Vice Chairman, we were in Vienna with the Juniors, so you get around ... You get your expenses, I mean when we go away we get our petrol [in Scotland] and we get so much for petrol and you get your hotel paid. But if you are Chairman you are often dipping into your pockets for this that and the other" (Anne Sime SA 1997.127&128).

Miss Grainger, as secretary of the SLGA until the early 1920s, took on a managerial role by travelling with the Scottish team when they played in the Home Internationals and making arrangements for them. As a non-player, she was not compensated financially.[4] Anne considered it important to receive some allowance as the Chairman was expected to do a considerable amount of travelling in and beyond Scotland.

8.1.2 Representative teams and coaching

Of the home events, the SLGA organises up to fifteen fixtures held throughout the season for women of all ages and abilities, ranging from the Scottish National Championships to the Challenge bowls awarded to the winners of club competitions. Significantly, this reflects the importance of competition to women of all ages and standards. For the European Ladies', the Juniors Amateur Championships and the Girls' Internationals, Scotland requires to be represented by official ambassadors as well as team players.

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[4] See Chapter Six for discussion relating to expenses for players.

In order for Scotland to be best represented in the team competitions, the SLGA provides the financial means for training the elite players who are under consideration for selection and places them according to age in Junior, Intermediate and Senior Squads (Anne Sime SA 1997.127&128). Financed through levies from each affiliated golf club, members of these squads are selected for the national teams and come under the supervision of the national coaches, Jane Connachan and Billy Lockie appointed in 1995. Both experienced teaching professionals, they have the responsibility of developing the potential of the individual golfers into team players. Instilling discipline as well as the right mental attitude in players is part of a coach's job, but the motivation to win has to come from the individual players who must realise that if they have been chosen, they have to measure up to what is expected of them or they are likely to forfeit their place in the team. A member of Gullane Golf Club with much experience of playing in tournaments from the age of thirteen, recognised that if chosen by the SLGA as a squad member, a distance had to be maintained between the serious and the social side of golf.

> " ... they are expecting you to play in tournaments and they are expecting you to take it seriously and they are expecting you to put into practice what you have learnt at the training weekends. They are grooming you for the Scottish women's team. They are grooming you for the future and although there is an emphasis put on fun at the weekend, when it comes to tournaments sometimes when you are seen to be having fun it can be interpreted as 'mucking around' and there is a fine line ... " (Name withheld).

Although the SLGA endeavoured to instil a sense of responsibility and to maintain standards set by their predecessors, Jane Connachan as coach recognised the individuality of the Scottish players who appeared to have a different attitude from their European counterparts. Having accompanied her team members to tournaments in Europe, she was aware of the disappointment of losing having been a tournament player on the professional circuit herself.

> "You get a kicks out of it when they are doing well, but you feel the pain when they are not. You are still going through the same emotions. I don't think they realise how much it means to their coach whether it be in a national team or whether it be in an individual that you are coaching. When they are doing well and when they are not doing well, you feel it" (Jane Connachan SA 1999.02)

In the 1999 International Team Tournament, the Scottish team finished well behind the European teams because they appeared to lack cohesiveness and a recognisable team spirit.

> "They got on well socially. They didn't get on well as a team. They got on well socially, therefore they thought they had a good team spirit, but they didn't ... So it's like going back to the drawing board for me figuring out what was the difference between a winning Scottish team and a team that finished thirteenth in Europe"(Jane Connachan SA 1999.02).

Part of the difference between the Scots and the Europeans lies in a more cohesive structure to golf in Europe and a policy which fosters links with clubs and schools supported by central government funding. Scotland has fewer elite players than other countries from which to choose teams and individually they are not as well supported financially as their European counterparts. Some cannot take time off their work or studies for prolonged periods and therefore are less able to spend time developing their skills in the team situation. Jane as coach found herself in a dilemma about how she could address the "attitude" problem.

8.1.3 Sponsorship of teams

In the early part of the 20th century, sponsorship was not an issue for the governing bodies of women's golf as those who represented their country were well enough off as individuals to finance their own participation. However, as travel and other expenditure increased particularly after the Second World War, the levies gathered from each affiliated club assisted in funding these representative teams. Along with commercial sponsorship from business and commerce, this was important in helping to finance teams. Officials of the SLGA were required to seek out commercial sponsorship, an idea which Miss Grainger would never have contemplated. As Anne Sime explained, commercial sponsorship in the 1990s was vital because of the costs involved in funding championships, coaching, travel and accommodation requirements. Financial support in grant form from the R&A and the LGU is also important.

> "Yes, we got a very handsome grant for the Junior European [Girls'] at Nairn and the LGU give us a grant as well to help along but we are always looking for sponsors. We lost most of our - well AT Mays, the travel agents, they sponsored the Girls' Championship for a while and it's now Sam Reid.

> *Sam Reid*?
> Sam Reid of Reid Furniture. He sponsors the Girls'... he does it because his wife was a very prominent lady golfer ... and she died and he wanted to do something in her memory, so he produced the Ainsley Reid Trophy for the girls' championship ... now he has taken over sponsorship of the whole thing" (Anne Sime SA.1997.127&128).

Along with grants from the official bodies, sponsorship comes from small businesses, some with a personal interest in Scottish women's golf. A personal motivation is often a reason for wanting to support golf and donate a permanent momento. Encouraging major sponsorship on a national scale is more problematical and needs careful negotiation as sponsors are not obliged to continue with financial aid indefinitely. For the 1998-99 season, the SLGA was able to secure sponsorship from the Dunfermline Building Society to support the 'Order of Merit', a series of competitions held all over Scotland (*Lady Golfer* April 1998:14).[5] Sponsorship of this and other events has been important in establishing recognition for women's golf in Scotland.

8.1.4 The administration of the SLGA

While Agnes Grainger and her committee volunteered their services and performed their correspondence by letter, the women involved in the administration of the SLGA in the 1990s possess business skills and are aided by modern technology using computers for communication. The day to day business is conducted from Drumoig near St Andrews where offices are shared with the Scottish Golf Union (SGU). The SGU (the men's union), inaugurated in 1920, while administered separately, is organised on similar principles to the women's association. Joan Lawrence (*Lady Golfer* April 1998:15), a former President of the SLGA thought that "considerable benefits" would result if the SLGA joined forces with the men's SGU. She argued that having two distinctive governing bodies perpetuated the gender division in golf. Although cautious about suggesting a timescale for the golf unions to merge she speculated that in about five years time, the climate might be right for it to happen. For something like this to materialise there has to be commitment from both sides. While other sports have faced up to change, this has not been experienced easily. In 1989, the administration of male and female hockey combined to form the Scottish Hockey Union under the chairmanship of Evelyn Raistrick. As she acknowledged, it

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[5] Players compete with each other and gain points in a league table.

was not without its critics. "We had old die-hards on both sides of the hockey spectrum and I dare say the same applies in Scottish golf, but progress has to be made with or without them" (*Lady Golfer* April 1998:15). However, the golf associations in Scotland continue to operate separately.

Although the SLGA continue to rely on unpaid volunteers to serve on its committees, it is administered and operated as a business. Susan Simpson, formerly the tournament officer, was appointed the full-time secretary in 1998. She acknowledged that "it can be frustrating when people think that committees are all made up of women who only know how to flower arrange and are frightened to death at the sight of a computer" (*Women and Golf* March 1999:46). This stereotypical image of committee women is an inheritance from the past and one the SLGA are endeavouring to change. Much emphasis is placed on being an efficient organisation and accessible to all golfers in Scotland whether they play at club or county level. In an effort to communicate to golfers in an efficient and speedy manner, the SLGA has developed its own web page, where news of events and results of competitions are reported as and when they happen.[6] Communications with clubs and dealing with enquiries from individuals are attended to promptly by email. This is indeed a major change from a time when all communicating was done through a club secretary getting in touch with the SLGA by letter and perhaps waiting some time before a reply was forthcoming. Sheila Goudie, a past Chairman, considered that women golfers should be forward looking and not content to deal with issues in the same way as their predecessors as "... the governing body has to be run on a more businesslike footing using professional experts alongside willing volunteers" (*Lady Golfer* February 1998:38).

Anne Sime acknowledged that while the future is important links with the past should not be forgotten. The Scottish Championship in the 1990s follows the format of the first one in 1903 with pre-qualifying stroke play rounds followed by successive rounds of match play. Prizes in the form of trophies continue to be presented with the Grainger Cup (donated by Agnes Grainger) the handicap prize for the winning club team, a tangible link with the past.

> " ... the Grainger Cup is awarded to the team returning the lowest aggregate net score in the first qualifying round and the Eglinton Quaich is awarded to the lowest aggregate gross score, so clubs put in teams of

[6] The website for the SLGA is part of the Scottish Golf website - www.scottishgolf.com

> two people obviously, one for the Eglinton which is your best players and then the other ones are the handicap. But not all clubs can do this of course, because they don't have enough people playing in the Scottish" (Anne Sime SA 1997.127&128).[7]

In another link with the Championship of former days, competitors as long as they possess a handicap, are able to enter as individuals rather than as representatives of a club. In the 1903 Championship, five of the 40 ladies who entered did not belong to a club.[8] Some of the competitors considered the Championship week as a break from their normal routine, which continues to reflect the social nature of the game. Even a low handicap competitor can testify to this.

> "[there are those] who go to the Scottish match play that are not necessarily interested, maybe they are interested in doing their best in the golf, but they are actually there for the social week and if they are full-time working they will take off a week from work and play on a great golf course for virtually next to nothing and hire a cottage and have a good week" (Name withheld).

While material awards may be important for some players, getting pleasure from golf is as important as the competition.

8.1.5 Changes in the LGU handicap system

After almost one hundred years of operation, it was considered that the handicap system needed to be overhauled. Issette Pearson and her colleagues had developed a universal handicap system in the LGU to replace the system established by the early clubs prior to the 1890s. Until the 1990s, women in clubs operated a system of basing handicaps on the average of four best scores in a season.[9] It was argued that this system resulted in an unrealistically low handicap for some players and in 1998, a decision was taken by the LGU to establish what was considered to be a fairer reflection of the current form of players. Players would now be divided into six categories, with categories 1-3 within the Silver Division and categories 4-6, within the Bronze Division.[10] In an effort to explain the process to as many club members as

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[7]The Grainger Cup is named after Agnes Grainger and the Eglinton Quaich was given in memory of the Eglinton family, sporting benefactors - see Chapter Two.

[8] See Appendix I.

[9] The men's system is based on a player's *current* performance increasing or decreasing as a result of each performance.

[10] See Chapter Three under **3.3.5 The Handicapping System**, for reference to divisions. Under the new scheme the Silver Division would be divided into three categories with the maximum handicap

possible, one of the women's golf journals introduced some of the main features of the system to its readers.[11] The following rules applied for every category of player.

1. The handicap would increase by 0.1 (i.e. 1/10th of a stroke) each time the difference between a player's net score and the standard scratch was greater than her "buffer zone".[12]
2. The handicap of a player playing within her "buffer zone" would remain the same and be neither increased or decreased.
3. Every score returned below the standard scratch would be subject to a reduction.
4. Only players with a handicap of 40 or better would be allowed to compete in LGU medal competitions, but would be eligible to play in other club competitions.
5. If less than 10% of those playing in a competition play within their buffer zones, then the competition will be 'non-counting' for handicap increase purposes. If any player has played below her buffer zone then the score will count for handicap purposes.

It was anticipated that the outcome of these changes would see handicaps increasing initially and then levelling off to a more realistic level than had been apparent with the old system. While some golfers argued that the system reflected aspects of the men's system, Nancy Chisholm, the Chairman of the LGU in 1997, admitted that the "perfect" handicapping system did not exist and the men's system was not without its faults (*Women and Golf* April 1997:13). While it has always been the aim of golfers to acquire as low a handicap as possible, many players felt that the new system had taken the fun out of playing competitive golf and considered "punished" by the addition of .1 if they did not play within their buffer zone. This resulted in fewer players competing in 'open' competitions at club and county level and changed the attitude to competition in general. The number of letters published each month on the subject by *Women and Golf* in 1998 indicated how much the issue was being discussed amongst club members. While it had always been the purpose of the LGU and the SLGA to encourage more women into golf, they had not anticipated as much opposition to the new system and this resulted in modifications being made.[13] As with any new measure it takes time to be accepted by all.

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rising from 18 to 20. Three categories would form the Bronze Division with the maximum handicap raised from 40 to 45.

[11] *Women and Golf* is subscribed to by the majority of golf clubs. 'An Introduction to the New Handicapping System' appeared in the edition for April 1997:12 -13.

[12] The "buffer zone" is the area band (within three strokes) in relation to a player's ability.

[13] A number of changes were made by the LGU in 2000 addressing some of the issues of concern. There was now to be an increase in buffer zones. The minimum number of scores required to maintain

8.2 Coaching schemes for girls

The theme of access to golf for girls which was discussed in Chapter Four focused on the importance of family as an initial place of introduction followed by school which offered opportunities to further sporting interests. In the last ten years, a concerted effort has been made in Scotland by The Golf Foundation, the SLGA, county golf associations, schools and clubs to support golf coaching schemes specifically for girls.[14]

8.2.1 Updating The Golf Foundation coaching scheme

Since it was established in 1952, The Golf Foundation has been responsible for promoting golf as a game for youngsters, providing financial and technical assistance and introducing coaching schemes into schools and clubs. It places emphasis on not only teaching the rudiments of the game, but also observing golf protocol by giving training in the rules and etiquette of the game. We have already acknowledged the benefits to girls of the coaching schemes in the 1960s which gave opportunities for some Edinburgh schools to involve more girls in golf. It could be argued that as far as institutions such as schools and golf clubs are concerned, it has tended to be boys who received most of the concentration, attention and tuition in golf and girls have not been encouraged to the same extent or given the same opportunity, the argument being that the few who might be interested would not justify the effort in organisation. However in 1997, The Foundation was able to report that in Scotland, eight schools (both primary and secondary) had expressed interest in the scheme and were offering coaching *specifically* for girls, while seventy-six schools were coaching mixed groups of pupils. From a total of 113 schools in Scotland who applied for funding, this represents an interest from girls in more than two thirds of the schools. Of the 210 golf clubs registered with the Golf Foundation in Scotland, nine clubs offered coaching for groups of girls, 139 offered coaching in mixed groups, while fourteen junior girls' groups were receiving coaching through their county associations. Additionally, 16 special needs groups in Scotland offered coaching to mixed groups (The Golf Foundation *Annual Report* 1997-8:20,23,24,27-9). While these figures appear to indicate that the opportunity is there if girls wish to participate, it does not offer any statistics of the numbers of individual girls taking

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a handicap would be three and those in category six returning scores in competitions would be for 'reduction' only (*Women and Golf* October 2000).

[14]A majority of informants indicate that girls tend to receive their first instruction in golf from interested parents and other family members.

part. The important point, however, is that even if this is only a small proportion, it testifies to the fact that opportunities are being offered to girls as well as to boys.

Since the 1980s, The Golf Foundation has been able to introduce a range of competitive opportunities as incentives nationwide for girls and boys. These include age group championships, team championships for schools and adult/junior foursomes. The latter event aims to foster good relations with adult and junior members in golf clubs. The question of sponsorship is an important one. Sponsorship by private enterprise might have been considered as "commercialism" in the 1970s when the first company to take an interest in The Golf Foundation was the Ford Motor Company, who sponsored its own tournament. At that time The Golf Foundation relied on the benevolence of a major company aided by a few individuals. Since then the costs involved in developing these golf schemes have escalated and more reliance has been placed on attracting corporate sponsorship deals along with sponsorship from the sport and leisure industries as well as from golfing organisations. Although The Foundation gets financial help through the R&A from the proceeds of the Open Championship and the Professional Golfers' Association (PGA) European Tour, a more commercially-oriented sponsorship is necessary and has become acceptable in the 1990s (The Golf Foundation *Annual Report* 1997/8:4). Commercial sponsorship has to be negotiated and Lesley Attwood, having been connected with the administration of the organisation for thirty-four years, has been responsible for ensuring a continuation of sponsorship from the Weetabix company for the age-group championships.[15] Vikki Laing from Musselburgh is one individual who has been successful in winning the age group championships (referred to later).

8.3 Links with schools and clubs

Furthermore, in the 1990s, through the efforts of individuals and with financial help received from golf clubs, the Golf Foundation has been able to develop its coaching schemes working in tandem with schools and clubs to help identify players who might become future golf club members. In the past, clubs might not have been concerned that younger players were not joining but as the age of membership has increased in the 1990s,[16] in order for clubs to have a viable future, a new generation

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[15] The age group championships are organised for girls and boys in the under 15, under 16 and under 17 categories and give an opportunity for competition with others of the same age. Girls must be able to play to a handicap of 30 or better. The championships are decided by medal play in club competitions with the winners progressing to regional finals and eventually a grand final.

[16] The average age of golf club members in 1996 was 58.2 (*Scotland on Sunday* December 8 1996).

needs to be recruited. Without a personal involvement between club and school, private clubs have often discouraged links with local schools. Members of clubs did little to welcome youngsters on their courses and in their clubhouses, considering them to be unfamiliar with golfing procedure and social etiquette. In the East of Scotland in Dunbar and St Andrews, however, progress has been made owing to the initiative of individuals committed to introducing girls to golf under the auspices of the Golf Foundation. In order to assess the result of these developments for girls, attention is focused on two specific groups of girls who are beneficiaries of coaching schemes. Interviews conducted with recipients in two schools, Dunbar Grammar School in East Lothian and St Leonards School in St Andrews, reveal the level of interest in participation.

The initiative for the introduction of golf in both these schools in the 1990s has come about through the interest of enterprising individuals. Catherine Purves, an auxiliary nurse in Dunbar Grammar School, and June Caithness, the head of P.E. at St Leonards, are both keen golfers who wanted to make provision for golf in their respective schools. Only a minority of pupils at Dunbar are members of private golf clubs and therefore do not have much opportunity to play on a regular basis, however, this introductory scheme gives girls a grounding in the rudiments of the game. These women consider that girls should be being given as much encouragement to play golf as possible.

8.3.1 Golf in Dunbar Grammar School

At the majority of schools in Scotland, concentration is on team games and it is usually only through interest taken by an individual teacher or enthusiast that an individual sport like golf will be played. Dunbar is a co-educational state school where only a small percentage of time is given over to sport and usually only a fraction of that is devoted to golf. In the past golf tuition has been concentrated on boys rather than girls. It does not feature on the sporting curriculum on a regular basis for girls although Bryden Stephen, the head of P.E. has in the past organised golf as part of a group of sports which could be played by both boys and girls in a "leisurely and competitive" manner in 5th year. But as he emphasised, " ... you just can't do golf in two periods. You can't do it and I don't have the ability to teach golf because I'm not a golfer myself. I can only support" (Bryden Stephen SA 1998.07). At Dunbar the time that is allocated for golf in the school curriculum during school hours is restricted. He considers that girls tended to "switch off sport because it's

not cool". This appears to be a common pattern at state schools where there is enthusiasm to try anything in first year but interest is lost when the novelty wears off. This is where a motivated teacher or someone who is willing to give their own time to the organisation of the game can play an important role. Since 1997, Catherine Purves, a non-teaching member of staff, has organised golf lessons for girls on a regular basis after school hours, although an introduction to golf already forms an element of an 'activities week' in school hours.

> "Miss Geddes who is our head of history, she takes golf in 'activities week' and applies for funding for six lessons, but, it's boys and girls, in fact it's mostly boys and so I get the funding from the ten lessons that are left, because it's sixteen lessons that you get" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Catherine recognised the need for girls to be given a chance to play golf regularly rather than only during the activities week. With The Golf Foundation providing the funding, the school can apply for a maximum of sixteen hours of coaching and 50% of the instructor's fees. This is done with the co-operation of the school and the local golf club. Catherine arranges coaching outwith school hours with the local professional at Dunbar Golf Club where she is a member. This could have been more difficult to achieve if she had not been a club member, but being a familiar figure, members did not object to pupils receiving tuition at the club. According to Bryden Stephens (SA 1998.07), this golf club in the past had the reputation of being intimidating for females and "they weren't always welcome down at East Links [Dunbar Golf Club]". With Catherine being a well respected member, she was able to enlist support from the lady members of the golf club who supplied her with golf clubs, bags and balls so that the girls were equipped for their lessons and had no need to buy the equipment themselves. Acquiring equipment might have been a deterring factor for some of the girls from low income families.

> "I was very lucky, Dunbar ladies came up trumps, sets of clubs, bags, shoes, waterproofs, I got. In fact I had to ask them to stop because I had nowhere to keep all the stuff, I mean, my house was full of golf bags ... That's right, that's exactly what I put up on the board, "you don't need to worry about equipment, it will all be provided" and even if they didn't have clubs, well Chris [the assistant professional] brings a selection of clubs with him and they get clubs to play with, but as I say, the Dunbar ladies were wonderful and I was very grateful to them" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

This attitude has been important in establishing good relations between the girls and the club and it is doubtful if Catherine would have been able to go ahead without the support of the ladies. Catherine found their attitude accommodating as they not only donated equipment but gave her a commitment to take any girls out on the course to practise, which she considered very encouraging. Interestingly, this was a noticeable change in attitude from the time in the 1950s when Catherine as a junior member of the club had been rather ostracised by the lady members.

> " ... the ladies at Dunbar weren't very nice to me, which is why I've always been so anxious to encourage girls ... because juniors have no standing on the course obviously, I think that's the same everywhere and three ladies would go out and play and leave me standing on the tee" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06)

Women as well as men have been guilty of being less than fair at times over issues regarding junior members. A reason for this is that juniors pay a smaller subscription than ordinary members, are restricted in playing times and do not share the same club facilities as members. Only one of the group of girls from Dunbar Grammar is a member of this club. However Gemma Davidson felt encouraged rather than intimidated by the attitude of the members.

> "... down at the golf course, they are really nice, the professionals are really nice and helpful. I think it is a nice environment...and the scenery down at the golf course is really pretty ... I really like it" (Gemma Davidson SA 1998.07).

This suggests that girls appreciated the interest being taken in them and were encouraged by the attitude of older people. Catherine also made it clear to the girls that although the majority of the members were in the middle to older age bracket, there were younger females in the club.

> "We do have one or two young members. We had Elaine Fell at Dunbar who has just had a baby and she is a single figure player, Mary Lou Renton, Lesley Nicholson is a member at Dunbar, I think, she's just into the Curtis Cup, as a reserve. We have one or two who could be very good who I hope are going to inspire the young ones" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Although an obvious minority, it is opportune that this club has young players who can act as role models and can give those new to golf something to emulate. To

represent one's country is one of the pinnacles of achievement in amateur golf and "celebrity" status is something the girls were able to respond to.

> "Shirley Huggan, she's a member at Dunbar. The very first time I had all these girls down I took them into the club and the club pay for them to have a packet of crisps and a drink in the ladies' room and Shirley came in and our captain said, "now this is Shirley and she was in the Curtis Cup and is there anything you would like to ask?", and so the two questions were, "did you win?' and 'were you on the telly?" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Girls usually respond to the idea of someone achieving recognition and if they see that golf is played by young, attractive and successful players who have represented their country, then this might encourage them to persevere even if they find the game difficult initially. Catherine is of the opinion that the media image of professional golfers might help to counteract the traditional stereotype of women golfers, as all "tweeds and thunder thighs".

> " ... these girls are getting away from the image of the elderly 'heavy' ladies' playing golf. If they've got Sky television and they're switching on to ladies golf in America and seeing all these glamorous young ladies who are now playing, that's maybe helping to improve the image of the game as well" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

The image of the "glamorous" golfer came to the fore in the 1970s when women's professional golf was seen on television for the first time and "glamour could be exploited". Then, it was not considered "politically incorrect" if attention focused on looks before ability (Kahn 1996:170). Players such as Laura Baugh from the USA and Jan Stephenson from Australia matched their undoubted good looks with the ability to play well. Sharron Davies, a former Olympic swimmer, is convinced that "A pretty face will get photographed more than a normal one ... but sportswomen have to back up their looks with good performance; sport still has to come first (*The Observer* June 29 1997).[17] While the women's game might receive more media attention in the 1990s than it did in the 1970s, those involved have not received anything like the attention which players like Tiger Woods can command. However, this has not deterred at least one of the girls from encouraging her friends to give golf a chance.

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[17] Quoted in *The Observer* (June 29 1997) 'Cashing in on the clamour for glamour', p.12.

> " ... some of my friends are like, 'golf's a boys' sport'... I've told them that it's not and it's everybody's and it's really fun and I've asked them to try it out, but they are not sure and when I'm practising with Vicky at the park and stuff and my other friends come along, I let them have a hit. They find it quite fun but I don't know if they'll start up, but I think a lot of girls will start playing golf in the future" (Kelly Sives SA 1998.06).

The perception of golf as "a boys' sport" is an interesting one and something which has been touched on in interviews with other girls (see St Leonards below). As we have already discussed, if clubs impose restrictions on women as members and hold prejudicial attitudes this can deter girls from participating. Ironically, it was receiving encouragement from men which persuaded one of the Dunbar girls to try golf in the first place.

> "I don't think I would have actually. Not unless I had a shot at it with my dad. Yeah, he says I shouldn't give up and he encourages my brother and my mum as well. He is quite a good player, he plays in competitions and things usually every Sunday" (Kelly Sives SA 1998.06).

Again, the introduction through the family is shown to be important. While fathers can be supportive of their daughters, girls can be self-conscious playing golf in the company of boys. They might have to deal with being ridiculed if they do not match up to their standard. Kelly's brother was rather sceptical initially about her playing and was not very encouraging.

> " ... it's mainly my dad and my mum who encourage me, but my brother doesn't really bother. He is a good player but sometimes he can really mess up and that, so he is really concentrating on himself more than me. He is just trying to get better his self 'cos if he messes up a shot when he hits it, my dad sometimes tells him how to do it properly and he gets annoyed with my dad and stuff because he wants to figure it out for himself. I think that's bad" (Kelly Sives SA 1998.06).

While boys might not want to take advice from their fathers, girls have often more respect for a father figure, while at the same time appreciating the support they receive from their own female friends.

> "Well I have a friend Vicky, I usually always go with her. She's really keen but she sometimes has to work on a Friday when we have the golf lessons and she gets really annoyed with that and so I think she is really keen and she wants me to go out and hit golf balls as well" (Kelly Sives SA 1998.06).

Some of the girls found difficulty in overcoming their initial shyness and embarrassment when they hit poor shots, but Kelly soon lost her inhibitions.

> "But I managed it and I've just got used to it and when I hit the ball and it doesn't go as far as I want it to go, I don't go in a bad mood and that, I just laugh about it ... Sometimes I feel that when I am playing with Vicky, she stands and watches me and I can sense it and I miss it and sometimes it happens to her as well. It's quite weird. So we don't look at each other when we are going to hit a ball or we hit one at the same time" (Kelly Sives 1998.06).

The sociability of learning in a group is one that girls enjoy and it can have its rewards: if it looks like fun, then more girls might be encouraged to try. When the boys at school realised that the girls were serious about golf, instead of laughing at them they seemed to be impressed that the girls had made the effort to learn.

> "Well they thought it was quite funny at the start because they used to come and watch and it used to go nowhere. But they think it's really good as well. We don't get slagged or anything, they are quite supportive of it" (Vicky Berrie SA 1998.07).

If boys appeared to be more naturally instinctive when it came to taking up sport, maintaining the interest of girls could be harder with so many other distractions. In Bryden Stephen's estimation, "some of them come back to it ... there's the time to catch them when they are young like the Vikki Laings and the Nicholsons" (Bryden Stephen SA 1998.07).[18] He acknowledged that because the school had concentrated in the past on boys rather than girls few if any have taken part in the school golf competition as they lacked the confidence. Catherine acknowledged that some of the girls had the potential to play to a reasonable standard if they committed themselves to the coaching sessions with the professional at the golf club.

> "There were one or two who didn't come back, who obviously felt this was not their image, especially since the very first time I took them down, it wasn't actually Derek Small who came across to take them, it was the assistant pro, Chris Craig who is a personable young man and of course I saw all the eyes lighting up and I was nearly knocked down in the rush. (Laughter) ... Oh absolutely, yes. But one or two of the young ladies couldn't handle the embarrassment of missing the ball all the time in front of him and so they didn't come back, but by and large you can see

[18] Vikki Laing is referred to later in this chapter as is Lesley Nicholson.

> the jaws getting set and they are thinking "this is not going to beat me" and we have one or two who are absolute naturals" (Catherine Purves SA 1998.06).

Bryden Stephen considered golf a good sport for teaching youngsters self control and manners and by giving girls an opportunity to learn with the help of a young professional, they could learn the rules and etiquette of the game and eventually acquire a handicap. However, there are those who can only attend the lessons periodically because of other sporting interests or work after school hours.

An incentive for beginners or pre-handicap players is the Merit Award Scheme operated by The Golf Foundation which measures the individual's progress. Certificates are awarded ranging from Red, Blue, Green, Bronze and Silver to Gold and these indicate the standard achieved. Some of the Dunbar girls have already gained the basic 'Red Award', when questions on etiquette and the rules have been answered correctly and a par 3 hole played in seven shots or better. Gemma Davidson found this an incentive.

> " ... we were given certificates ... And everybody got to stage one but I managed to get to stage two ... The stage one is red and the stage two is white [actually blue] ... I think for stage one you've just to go for a certain amount of lessons and for stage two you've got to play a couple of holes ... I managed to get to stage two. So for stage three I've got to play sixteen holes, so that's no bother. It'll be good fun. I've gone out with Miss Purves a couple of times. She's a good golfer" (Gemma Davidson SA 1998.07).

Once girls have been introduced to golf, trying to maintain the momentum is important. Lesley Attwood, the former executive director of The Golf Foundation is of the opinion that in order to attract more girls into golf, golf clubs must make girls feel welcome and look after them when they are beginners, as well as encouraging them to enter competitions when they feel ready to do so. However the initial difficulty is in becoming a member of a club if one has to go on a waiting list until a vacancy occurs. This can be frustrating for young people if they are keen on golf and want to join immediately. Additionally, players can give up when they cannot afford to pay adult subscriptions. Families have to consider that there is usually an entry fee to pay as well as an annual subscription. Ian Hume, an official of the SGU, is of the opinion that it would be more beneficial to the future of golf clubs to offer reductions in fees to young people rather than to the older members.

> "Many find it difficult to pay subscriptions of £300 or more ... they drop out of the game at this stage and by the time they can afford to pay the fees again they might be put off by waiting lists at their old club and be lost to the game forever" (*The Scotsman* February 13 1996).

Gemma Davidson considered herself fortunate in already being a junior member of Dunbar Golf Club and acknowledged that her father was keen for her to join the club.

> "My dad said, "just go for it, just go for it", because he had shown me how to swing the club and had went down to a local place called Whitekirk and had a hit of the ball, so I played down there ... Some people say, "oh, it's for the rich people" but I don't think so, you know, anybody can play it. It maybe costs a bit for a set of clubs, but you can always get a second hand set from anywhere" (Gemma Davidson SA 1998.07).

While one might concede that anyone can learn to play golf if they apply themselves and equipment does not necessarily need to be an expense, the cost of an initial entry fee and annual subscriptions are often a barrier to those who are the least well off. It has to considered also that teenage girls joining a golf club might also be deterred by restrictions on when they can play and how they must dress. As a young player, Gemma is somewhat surprised by the dress code that applies in golf clubs and on the course as well.

> "Some clubs don't bother, but I know my dad will say "I can't go without a tie to this club or I can't go without a jacket or smart trousers and shoes" and he will go out on the course with a polo shirt on and have to change just to go into the clubhouse. I don't know if it's the same down there, I've never actually went in. I've been in to the ladies' locker room with Miss Purves just for a drink or something, but I don't know if they have a dress code. I think that is strange, the old traditional thing obviously to go in looking smart. Then even on the course you are not allowed jeans. They prefer you not to wear jeans and they like a collar" (Gemma Davidson SA 1998.07).

In some club houses dress rules apply to men wearing a jacket and tie, while women have arguably more freedom, although for younger players normal casual everyday dress can still become the subject of comment. Within the confines of the Merchants of Edinburgh clubhouse, the by-laws state that T-shirts, football shirts with branded names, shell suits, leggings or cycling shorts are unacceptable (MEGC *Bye-Laws* 1998). On the course, players are expected to wear golf shoes, conventional golf clothing or smart casual wear, but not denim jeans. As has already been discussed in

the previous chapter, trousers which caused such consternation among officialdom in the 1930s are recognised as normal golfing attire for girls and women.

Among the girls interviewed at Dunbar, rules concerning dress have not deterred three of them from becoming junior members of Dunbar Golf Club and another has joined Whitekirk where her father is a member.[19] Catherine Purves accepts that those who have golfing parents will most likely have a greater incentive for continuing to play in the future, but giving girls the initial encouragement to play golf in a coaching scheme such as this one seemed worthwhile in her view, even if the take up was small.

8.3.2 Golf in St Leonards School, St Andrews

We have already established that in women's golf the leadership aspect is a vital factor and an enthusiastic individual is usually responsible for initiating interest. If we compare the coaching scheme in Dunbar Grammar School with that of St Leonards School in Fife, some similarities as well as differences can be observed in the patterns of participation. St Leonards, an independent school for girls, has a history of participation by the girls in a variety of sports.[20] However, golf has been until recently a minority sport on the curriculum. At St Leonards, Mrs June Caithness was keen to communicate her enthusiasm for golf in a similar way to Catherine Purves at Dunbar. As a golfer and head of P.E. in the school, she wanted golf to become a more important part of the sporting curriculum. With an abundance of golf courses in St Andrews and girls under sixteen having free access, she felt it opportune for St Leonards girls' to take advantage of this.[21] Through the Golf Foundation scheme girls can receive coaching with one of the professionals on the driving range at the Strathtyrum course. June has also an instruction award and is qualified to teach The Golf Foundation course herself so she can accompany the girls offering advice and encouragement.

Pupils are drawn from a geographically wide area which includes local pupils who are generally day girls and boarders from different parts of Scotland and England as

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[19] Further information from Catherine Purves, October 6 1999. Catherine has achieved her own personal success in being elected Lady Captain in 1999 and becoming one of the first ever lady members to serve on the Council of Dunbar Golf Club.

[20] See Chapter Four for discussion on sport at St Leonards.

[21] Girls over sixteen can apply for annual season tickets costing £24, which gives them unlimited play over all the St Andrews courses except the Old Course (*St Leonards School Gazette* 1996-7). Other residents in St Andrews are able to acquire season tickets at a reasonable price.

well as overseas. Amongst them there is a broad range of golfing ability. Rowan Maitland, Catherine Clark and Susan Clark are representative of those who have some previous golfing experience and whose families have a connection with golf.[22] Susan Clark, a day girl from Lundin Links, has played more since she became a pupil at St Leonards although she was already a member of a local golf club.

> *Are your parents golfers too?*
> S.C.: Yes, in Lundin Links and I'm a member of the Trust [St Andrews] and we go to the Balgove or Strathtyrum every Thursday to have a round.
> *And I think you said that Lundin Links Ladies' Golf Club is somewhere you play as well?*
> S.C.: Yes, I am a member there ... I've got a wee brother and he plays there as well.
> *And your mum?*
> S.C.: Yes she plays a wee bit when her friends come over, not very often (Susan Clark SA 1998.03).

This club, as has already been discussed, encourages children to play competitively.[23] Similarly, Catherine Clark, a day girl from St Andrews, only played a little golf before coming to this school and interestingly, it was her father who took her out and encouraged her to get a handicap. She now has more confidence with a handicap of 30 and the opportunity to play competitively with other girls at school. Rowan Maitland had played in the company of her brother on occasions, but was made to feel rather inferior by him.

> "I've an older brother who is sixteen and he's a very good golfer ... he plays with me occasionally, not all the time and I don't think he minds playing with me too much, but it seems a bit of a drag to play with your younger sister, I think. Well he's golf mad. He's really fussy about everything I do and if I play with him everything has to be right. If I hit a bad shot I have to do it again and make sure it's right" (Rowan Maitland SA 1998.03).

The girls acknowledged the importance of learning from family members but also accepted that an enthusiastic as well as sympathetic teacher can be of equal help.

> R.M.: "If you are having a problem you say to Mrs Caithness and she will fit you in because we have a teacher who is always there and you can always have a lesson every three weeks or something".

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[22] These three girls were interviewed in a group situation. See List of Informants.
[23] See Chapter Five.

C.C.: "Beginners obviously have one every week and Mrs Caithness is qualified as well".
R.M.: "Yes, she comes round on the golf course with us, she will help us if we are having trouble, she will change the grip slightly ... Yes, Mrs Caithness does that if you are a beginner, after your first term or first year you get a red card and then if you play nine holes you get a white one and if you play eighteen its blue".
C.C.: "And if you get a handicap its blue and if you get a handicap you get a green one and single figures its a gold one. I've just had the green one, so I don't think I'll be getting the gold for a wee while".
So are you all involved in that scheme then?
S.C.: "Yes Mrs Caithness just does it for everyone".
C.C.: "It's quite nice if you've just been playing for a term when she gives you a little certificate" (SA 1998.03).

The competitive attitude in sport is an important part of the ethos of St Leonards School. Having something to aim for as each stage is completed is nearer to the goal of gaining a handicap which can give more opportunities for taking part in competitions.

" ... Catherine got the green one last year and I got the blue one 'cause she got a handicap so it makes me feel I want to get a handicap, so you want to catch up" (Susan Clark SA 1998.03).

It would appear that the St Leonards girls have more ambitions than the Dunbar girls have in relation to acquiring a handicap.

"If it's a big thing, then it's important for you to take it seriously, if it's a big competition, or if you are trying to get a handicap then you should take it seriously if you are wanting to get a good one".
And have you got a handicap?
"I've got two more cards to get".
So you think you might get it quite soon then?
"Yes, I'm putting another card in on Sunday and I play quite often, just to get the last card" (Rowan Maitland SA 1998.03).

But like the Dunbar girls they also acknowledged that " ... if you take things too seriously then it's not fun" (Susan Clark SA 1998.03). These girls may already have had opportunities to experience golf in the company of their families who play golf regularly but some felt they missed out on the fun aspect. Rowan spent her early childhood abroad in Kenya, Nigeria and Abu Dhabi where both her parents play.

> "I found that being in a family where they all had handicaps when I started, I found it quite annoying. I felt they were waiting for me to hit a good shot, 'cause when I was going around with them they would hit it for miles and I would miss it or something and sometimes I felt like just giving it up because it was so hard to take up".
> *But you've persevered then?*
> "Bit of persuasion but my parents sent me".
> *But at least they have encouraged you.*
> "I'm quite glad that I've kept it up now but it's just when you start it seems really boring" (Rowan Maitland SA 1998.03).

There is an element here of parental expectation with a certain pressure to acquire a handicap and continually to strive to reduce it. While most of the girls already play team games at school, which includes hockey and lacrosse, it must be stressed that approximately 50 girls choose to take part in an individual sport like golf (*St Leonards School Gazette* 1996-7).

Amongst an older group of girls, there was a mixed attitude with some of them treating golf as fun and not taking it seriously or playing often enough to acquire a handicap, while others were keen as well as talented enough to set themselves goals.[24] The school has several pupils from overseas who are already playing golf to a high standard. Gardis Greger[25] from Hamburg has a handicap of six and was a well established golfer before she came to St Leonards to finish her education.

> "We play in our club three times a week training and we go to lots of other courses ... [in Scotland] they're different because there are no trees and too many bunkers" (Gardis Greger SA 1998.4).

The emphasis in Europe on regular coaching with experienced professionals reflects the success of girls in international competition already referred to earlier in this chapter. Gardis is one of the few youngsters who has achieved a Gold Award under the Merit Award Scheme (The Golf Foundation *Tee to Green* 1998:20). Fulfilling the expectations of parents can sometimes add extra pressure to girls with a family background in golf. Golf is important to Judith de Vries, who began to play at about the age of five or six and was encouraged by her mother Fiona, a county player and a Scottish cap.

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[24] This interview was with a group of thirteen girls from St Leonards. See List of Informants.
[25] Gardis has since returned to Germany where she is a member of the national youth golf squad.

> "Yes, I play all over the place. Baberton, (that's my mum's club) Elie, the Duke's Course in St Andrews and just anywhere there's competitions ...Yeah, I think my mum wants me to get my handicap lower because she thinks I should really do something with golf later. She said that I should go on a gap year to America and play some golf over there for a while and I think that is quite a good idea" (Judith de Vries SA 1998.04).[26]

With a handicap of 10, Judith has completed The Golf Foundation merit award to the Bronze standard. She is already a recipient of the school golf scholarship available to girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen and awarded to those with golfing potential.

> "Well you are watched by a professional and he gives you a lesson and sees what your swing looks like and he gives you some tips and you go out on the golf course and play eighteen holes and the staff come out and watch you play" (Judith de Vries SA 1998.04).

The golf scholarship, inaugurated in 1995, can be worth up to £2000 for four years, with approximately £750 going towards expenditure for golf tuition, equipment, green fees, competition entrance fees and other expenses related to the sport. The remaining balance is set against the cost of academic tuition. The recipient of the scholarship is expected to represent the school in competitions at local, regional and national level. Gaining a golf scholarship can be an advantage for those who feel that they might want to pursue the game when they leave.[27]

Girls at St Leonards have the added advantage of their own school golf club which was started in 1993 by June Caithness. The club is organised on the same lines as a private golf club with affiliation to the LGU and the SLGA and while the girls are attending school they have the opportunity to play in the competitions and matches which are organised for them. The club has adopted the established criteria for a club with office bearers, rules and regulations. Mrs Caithness acts as secretary and Fiona de Vries (Judith's mother and a member of the St Rule Club), as handicap secretary. With the Captain of the club being a senior pupil, she is chosen for her leadership qualities and sense of responsibility as much as her for her golfing ability.

> "You have to be in the Upper Sixth, at the moment that's what they are doing, that's the last year in School and they just stay for the academic

[26] Judith intends to try for a scholarship in the USA in the year 2000.

[27] A second scholarship became available in 1999 when the sixth form became co-educational and this one was awarded to a boy.

> year ... They choose it [the Captain] the term before the Upper Sixth and they stop it the term before you leave Upper Sixth so you can revise for your 'A' levels and pass it on to someone else ... you organise the team and everything with Mrs Caithness ... Katherine will be it. Judith de Vries ... Judith will be it next and then Katherine" (Rowan Maitland SA 1998.03).

The club has followed other golf clubs in honouring its past Captains by displaying their names on a Captain's board. Members can play in monthly medals on the St Andrews courses and take part in a Senior and Junior Girls' Championship as well competing in an inter-house Championship. Girls have an opportunity to play matches against the local ladies' clubs in St Andrews as well as with juniors from Blairgowrie in Perthshire and Murrayfield Golf Club in Edinburgh. While this club gives the girls an introduction into how golf is organised, they realise that if they join a golf club, they might not necessarily have the same autonomy - the female members of this club are the majority with only three sixth form boys members. Two of the boys partner girls in open mixed foursomes competitions which is considered an encouraging sign.

> "When they [the boys] help you, it does help your game and the younger generation are much easier to play with because they are our generation. The older ones [males and females] tend to look down on you all the time, but most of the time it's all right" (Rachel Drysdale SA 1998.04).

According to Judith de Vries, who is also a member at Elie Golf Club, girls are a minority and unless they play in competitions along with the boys they can abandon any hope of competing.

> "...Well in some competitions there are hardly any girls, but a while ago I had to play with two other boys because I was the only girl there. It's happened a few times actually and it's just 'cause at Elie there was (sic) only five girls playing. There was (sic) about fifty or sixty boys playing ... I am treated very well actually. It's quite good playing" (Judith de Vries SA.1998.04).

As Ethel Jack and Marjorie Whitton[28] experienced in the early 1950s, the lack of girl members at clubs in the 1990s remains a serious issue. With junior girls being a minority at most clubs, they either have to be integrated with the boys or accepted into the ladies' sections. As far as 'open' competitions are concerned, apart from a

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[28] See Chapter Five, Marjorie Whitton, SA 1996.53&54, Ethel Jack SA 1995.105.

few county organised competitions and the national Scottish Girls' Championship, there is little else in the way of competition especially for the younger age group. St Leonards recognised this and has taken an initiative in an endeavour to encourage younger girls. With the assistance of the SLGA, the school inaugurated a tournament in 1998 for girls aged 16 and under - the "SLGA/St Leonards School Under 16 Championship". Organised to coincide with the Easter holidays and held at the Drumoig course near St Andrews, this competition has no limit on handicaps and gives everyone the opportunity to compete for prizes in their appropriate age groups.[29] Along with the Scottish Girls' Championship, this national competition hopes to encourage a younger age group into competitive golf.

While we might argue that girls attending St Leonards have more opportunity to play golf regularly through their club than those who are limited by time and facilities at Dunbar, there would perhaps have been little opportunity in the first place for both schools without the organisational skills and leadership of June Caithness and Catherine Purves. These women initially made the decision to introduce coaching and have made it possible for girls who show an interest and aptitude to pursue golf as a sport. Along with the support from their families these girls might be encouraged to continue in the game after leaving school and if the opportunity arises help lower the age as future members of golf clubs in Scotland.

8.4 A comparison of past and present - Jessie Valentine and Vikki Laing

While school is one area where opportunities for golf are offered to girls, the family environment, as has been argued throughout this thesis, is often the most vital place in determining and stimulating interest especially from a very early age. In the case of Jessie Valentine (nee Anderson) from Perth and Vikki Laing from Musselburgh, the family has been instrumental in nurturing their talent and giving them opportunities to develop as golfers from an early age. Jessie (b.1915), an important figure in Scottish women's golf is now in her 80s and has already been referred to in this thesis.[30] Vikki (b.1981) embarked on a career in golf in the early 1990s. **Fig.37** Both accomplished golfers, they represent to their respective generations women with an obsession for golf. Unlike women at the beginning of the 20th century who were expected to treat golf as a pastime and a pleasant way to spend a few hours, these two

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[29] In its second year it attracted an entry of 61 girls, some of whom were as young as 10.

[30] See Chapters Four, Six and Seven. For further reference see J.George (1997) 'Women and Golf in Scotland', *Oral History* Vol. 25 No 1 Spring.

have spent most of their time participating in competitive golf. By comparing Vikki's experience in golf in the 1990s with that of Jessie Valentine who grew up in the 1920s and played throughout the 1930s to the 1960s, one can identify some similarities.

Jessie Valentine started playing golf at six years of age and developed an interest by following her father round the course at Craigie Hill in Perth where he was employed as the club professional in the 1920s. Her father was not only a professional golfer but as Jessie proudly recalls, "played for Scotland at golf, cricket, he was the opening bat for Scotland at cricket and played bowls and ... curling" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104). Perhaps a little in awe of this pedigree, she would not have wanted to disappoint him by failing at sport. However, her apparent aptitude for games developed at Perth Academy where hockey was the team game played by girls in the 1920s. Jessie's hockey style was considered more suited to golf.

> "I played hockey at school, but I was told that if I wanted to play for Scotland I had to give up golf because every time I came to the net I had a 'mashie' shot, a seven iron, over the net, so I gave up hockey" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).[31]

She developed a free flowing full swing and concentrated on golf.

Vikki Laing became interested in golf from the age of three encouraged by her father, an employee in the shipping department of a computer company. He played football as well as golf and recognised the potential of his daughter early on.

> "It was my dad actually, when I was young. My dad played a fair bit of golf. He was about a 10 handicapper and I got started then. I was quite young then ... It was my dad who said "you are not too bad, yes, you could do this". And I just really enjoyed it and thought I quite liked doing this ... When I was really, really young, when I had small cut down clubs, when I first picked up a club, I did swing it left handed, but my dad turned me round at a really young age. I don't actually remember swinging left handed, but he turned me round to play right handed, probably because the clubs were cheaper and it is also easier to teach somebody who is right handed as opposed to left. I think he thought it would give me a strong follow through in my left hand ... Yeah that's what my dad reckoned, good for follow through" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

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[31] See Glossary for definition of 'mashie'.

Interestingly, both fathers recognised at an early stage that their daughters had an aptitude for golf. Furthermore in Vikki's family, there was a link with golf on her mother's side of the family as her grandfather and great-grandfather were both golfers, with one of them a competitor in the 'Open' Championship.[32] Vikki in turn encouraged her mother, Jan, to return to the game she had given up when she was young. Both mother and daughter have occasionally played together in foursomes competitions. When Vikki is competing, Jan only comes to watch her daughter if she is invited specifically to do so. She prefers to remain in the background and has seen what damage pushy parents can do to a child's confidence. At the Scottish Girls' Championship at Barassie in July 1998, Jan followed her daughter from a discreet distance but found this experience particularly nerve wracking as Vikki had won the title in the previous two years and was about to set a record if she won for a third time.[33] As a supportive parent, Jan considered it important that Vikki maintained a sensible balance between golf and the rest of her life. While Vikki appreciated her mother's concern, she did not always take her advice.

> "My mum says "you should just have some rest, sit and do something else" so I'll go out and come back and just go and hit a few balls. I drive her mad!" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Jessie made no mention of her mother playing sport. A woman whose husband was playing sport at the highest levels at the turn of the 19th century would have more than likely acted in a supportive role rather than tried to emulate his success. Jessie's sister Isa, twelve years her senior, did not show as much aptitude for the game, so her father had fewer expectations of her. Jessie only played occasionally with her as they were not of the same standard. Vikki's older sister, who no longer lives in the family home, might occasionally hit a few balls on the practice range but has never played beyond that.

> "My sister's the only person who doesn't play ... We don't talk about it much. She's okay. She phoned me up and said "how are you getting on, where have you been" kind of thing, like that" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Her older brother, still living at home, has not pursued golf to the same extent as Vikki.

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[32] Vikki is a bit unclear about the date and cannot verify for certain if he was a qualifier.
[33] After playing extra holes, Vikki won the title for the third year in succession.

> "I don't play with him, no not at all, we just argue on the golf course. No, I haven't played with him for a while ... he plays a lot with most of the guys from his work now. He used to play, he could have been quite good, but he wasn't interested in that way. He started working ... " (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Significantly, both Jessie and Vikki were more successful than their other siblings at golf and were encouraged by their fathers from an early age and given whatever opportunities were available. While her father had been important when she was developing as a player, Vikki reached a standard far in advance of both him and her brother.

Like Jessie, Vikki also showed interest in sports other than golf but was not able to sustain them because of her commitment to golf.

> "Well I used to play a bit of basketball as well with the school and for the club as well ... I used to play at the weekends in tournaments, but I found that money, when you were having to pay for the season, for basketball and golf and I had to choose, but I still like PE, play basketball and go swimming and ... I still like to go and play badminton with my friends, so it's not too bad" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Having to choose to concentrate on one particular sport was often necessary because of the financial costs as well as the time involved. Jessie did not have the benefit of support from funding agencies as there were no subsidies available for young golfers in the 1930s. Only those who were better off could afford what was required. She was fortunate in not having to buy golf equipment as her father owned a sports shop in Perth. However, the choice of clubs in the 1930s was limited and Jessie possessed only six hickory shafted clubs in her early days. She was seventeen before she had a full set of clubs and even then only played with seven of them in her first British Girls' Championship in 1932. The cost involved in staying away from home in hotels had to be financed by her family. Special terms were offered to competitors in the British Girls' Championship in Stoke Poges where in 1935, a day's board could be had for 15/- (*The Bystander* August 28 1935). Trips abroad to play with the British team lasting three months or more were financed by Jessie's family, there being no team sponsorship for golfers in the 1930s.[34]

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[34] See Chapter Six.

Travelling to golf competitions and paying for accommodation could be a considerable expense in the 1990s, but Vikki was fortunate enough to get some financial assistance from various funding bodies.

> " ... we can get grants and things, also ... the lottery grant last year [1997) and it all helps a lot because it's quite expensive. Mum and Dad have had to fork out a fair wee bit ... You get some help like for training weekends, travel is paid for and the training weekend last week [to Spain] it was all paid for, so we do get a bit of help, but you can get grants from your council [local authority] and sometimes your club helps out, so it's pretty good" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Vikki considered however that in order to get sponsorship you have to get noticed and make an impression with the governing body, as players have to be nominated for this type of funding by the SLGA. Golfers who show promise are eligible for a grant from the lottery which can amount to several thousand pounds. These awards are important in helping to pay for equipment and competition fees. Parental contributions can help towards additional personal expenses required to finance young golfers. Vikki was fortunate enough to be given lottery funding of approximately £1500 which helped with expenses for travelling and accommodation. Additionally, she had been given a few hundred pounds from her local authority. The cost of equipment alone could be an expensive outlay when it entailed replacing existing clubs after a period of time.

> "Well the equipment is fairly expensive ... I think after about four to six years the shafts in your clubs go and you have to renew them, you are supposed to. So every few years you tend to renew them. But golf shoes, I go through a couple of pairs of golf shoes a year, just with the amount of golf I play. They're quite expensive as well, but it has to done" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Vikki attends Musselburgh Grammar School, where the school has shown a flexibility to accommodate her absences.[35]

> "Last year I got a lot of time off. It was just my Standard Grades last year. On the course I missed something like the first five weeks of the course, but I managed to catch up. It wasn't too difficult in comparison to something like Highers, whereas I missed the beginning of my Highers and because of it I have actually taken one of my subjects over two years because I found it difficult to catch up, whereas I am only sitting three as

[35] At the time of interview (1998), Vikki was in fifth year at secondary school.

> opposed to five. But I do get time off, so long as I can catch up. I take work away with me ... I'm in fifth year now ...Yeah, I think I'll stay on and get a couple of more Highers next year as well" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Where exams are involved time is required to be spent on study and if a sport is impinging on that time, a compromise needs to be reached in order to accommodate both pupils and teachers. Girls today realise that although the idea of earning a living from playing golf might be a goal for the future, academic qualifications are an important requirement. Vikki is staying on for a sixth year to get qualifications, whereas Jessie left school in 1930 at the age of fifteen.

> "I didn't have a job ... I was lucky I didn't have to go out and work so ... I think then you didn't have to work, the girls today have to work cause everything's so expensive, golf is so expensive now for them" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

The expectation for some girls in the 1930s was to get married and settle down rather than pursue a career, while for many who were less well off, it was necessary to earn a living. Jessie considered herself fortunate in being able to devote most of her time to golf rather than having to earn her living. She was lucky to be supported by her father who, as well as having a sports shop, was also a teaching professional. She was able to call upon his assistance with her game. When Jessie joined Craigie Hill there were very few girls who played so she played in competitions with the other lady members in the late1920s.

> "Well I played in the monthly medals at Craigie Hill ... I don't think there were many girls playing golf then. I preferred practising anyway. I liked to practise. Maybe that's why I got a bit better ... Well I played in the Ladies' Perth Championship at the Inch, but that's about all until I went and played in the big stuff. But I didn't play really competitive golf except at Craigie Hill until I was eighteen and I went down to the Girls' and then I entered for the Scottish and the British and that was the beginning" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

The lack of competition with other girls of the same age led to her experiencing golf with women who were much older. Vikki too had a similar experience joining a club and playing in club competitions then taking part in the national ones. She joined Musselburgh Golf Club (Monktonhall) at the age of eleven because it was the local club and near her house and there was only a short waiting list for juniors in the early

1990s. Although her father was already a member, no privileges of admission applied, although it is known that some parents put their children's names down on the waiting list with the hope that they would get preferential treatment.[36] She, like Jessie, lacked the company of other girls so played with the junior boys. Vikki's father, as well as the Convenor for the juniors, encouraged her to play with the boys in their competitions.

> "I played in the junior boys' events ... That was okay because I knew some of them from school, like my brother used to play them when he was still in the juniors and I knew all my brother's friends and lot of the guys from school, so I just played like that ... There was (sic) junior girls down as members, but they weren't actually playing and we never saw any of them and I was the only person [girl]" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

This is a pattern which appeared not to have changed from Jessie's time, when being one of the few, or the only girl in a club, could be a common experience. However. playing with the boys could be advantageous and often pleasant. Vikki sensed that that some of the ladies were not very enthusiastic about welcoming girls to play until they had reached a certain standard. This reinforced Catherine Purves's experience of the same attitude from the Dunbar ladies in the 1950s (see above) as well as Marjorie Whitton's experience in the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club.[37]

Pupils at Musselburgh Grammar School were not part of the Golf Foundation coaching scheme, so to become acquainted with other golfers from the Midlothian area and elsewhere in Scotland, Vikki, at the age of thirteen, entered the Scottish Girls' Championship.

> "When I first went into the Scottish Girls' I was kind of on my own because everyone else was a bit older than me and I didn't have anybody else my age round about here who played golf, because not a lot of girls do play golf, but I really enjoyed it, so I said I was going to give it a try and through playing in competitions you get to meet people and it's always the same people you meet, so I made friends that way and kind of went to the same competitions and got to meet everyone" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Vikki emphasised the point here that golf is not a mass sport and through playing in the national competition was aware that there were only a few girls of her age playing

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[36] There is now about a three year waiting list at Musselburgh Golf Club.
[37] See Chapter Five

in the Edinburgh area. Most of the other competitors seemed to be located in the North-East of Scotland.

> "I know it's weird with the schools. When I played with the Edinburgh schools I only knew one person who played golf in Edinburgh, everyone else was from the North, I knew quite a lot of people from Aberdeen, but you find that there's not many people round here and East Lothian who are young ... because I don't know that many"(Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

Living in an area where there were only a few players her age, communication appeared to be difficult with girls in other clubs. Much of her competitive experience had to be gained outside Scotland, where she competed in The Golf Foundation age group competitions and was successful enough to qualify for the regional finals before playing in the UK finals at Patshull Park in Shropshire. With the competitors from all over Great Britain, Vikki was able to compare her standard of play with those of a similar age.

> "It is a good event, different age groups and you get winners in each individual age group and there is also a winner overall for the Duke of York Trophy which is the best boy/girl score ... I think the standard's getting a lot higher, I mean the scores have got lower every year so the standard is getting better"(Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).[38]

There were few if any junior tournaments in which Jessie Valentine could compete in the 1930s. The British Girls' Championship, which began in 1919, was the only major national competition for young girls as the Scottish Girls' Championship did not begin until 1958. However, Jessie did compete with older women in the Scottish Ladies' and British Ladies' Open Championships when she was in her teens. This gave her good experience and was where she was recognised by the LGU selectors as a prospective team player.

Jessie considered that the attitude of her peers to golf in the 1930s was very competitive on and off the course. "We all wanted to win but we were all nice to each other" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995. 103&104). This did not prevent them from competing further in another sport in the evenings after the Championships and two rounds of golf.

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[38] Vikki was very successful in this event and was the national winner of the under 14, under 15 and under 17 age group championships between 1994 and 1997.

> "It was really fun because we played thirty-six holes. We didn't just play one round knockout, we played a thirty-six hole final and then we would come in and play progressive table tennis and you know, we had good fun" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104).

In the 1930s, at the conclusion of the championships the girls were all expected by the LGU to appear at the social functions even though play might have gone on well into the evening. Jessie considered that this kind of evening was important in forming close ties with other competitors. Now in her eighties, she acknowledged that her long standing friends were the ones she made in golf and the maxim that, "a golfing friend is a friend for life" is something she considered important. Because of the pressure to perform well, Jessie considered that the girls today are less relaxed about golf.

> "... In golf they are all very friendly and I think the young ones are all very friendly. I don't know them ... I think the youngsters of today they all seem to be so serious. I think the youngsters are nice to each other too but I don't think they talked so much as we did on the golf course ... I don't know, they seem to be different because they do exercises. We never did that, I mean they run five miles or something before breakfast. Well we never did anything like that. I used to practise everyday. I used to go up from the school and practise" (Jessie Valentine 1995.103&104).

Ethel Jack points to the same 'friendly' rivalry she experienced in girls' championships in the 1950s as being important for competition.

> "...the girls you met in junior golf at the British Girls' and the Scottish Girls', you made friends with them and there was a certain amount of competition there. "Who's going to be an internationalist first and who's going to be a girl international first, who's going to get into that team?" and I think the competition made you just get on with it ... I would say the competitive spirit was there on the course, but we were all great buddies" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

Returning to Jessie's point about taking golf seriously, Ethel also considered that on the course winning was important but off the course less so when she reflected on some of their antics.

> "We used to play some terrible tricks on each other ... Oh yes, apple pie beds are nothing. We had good fun. I'm not convinced that the youngsters nowadays have such fun ... Oh I think they take it far too seriously. Half of them hardly know how to laugh. I find it very sad watching the younger people playing golf nowadays and they take so long

> when they are doing it as well, it's unbelievable, but I think that's television ... it's had quite an influence on them" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

While an older generation might be correct in assuming that girls in the 1990s do take their golf seriously and are influenced by professionals who they see performing and might try and emulate them, Vikki considered that they still could find time to enjoy themselves as teenagers.

> "We still have fun, but it's getting a lot harder and obviously you have to take appropriate measures and try and keep fit, because it's quite tiring a couple of rounds a day and then the next day the same. It does get quite tiring but we still have quite a good laugh as well. I think if we didn't, I think I would have given up by now" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

The important point made by her here is that with the standard of competition being high, she is required to be alert and prepared in order to play well. She recognised that her free time was limited during the year as most of it would be taken up with training, coaching and competing in golf tournaments. When she did get a chance to relax it was away from golf and with her school friends.

> " ... when you get home I'm usually dying to get out with my friends, go out to the cinema or just go out go anywhere just to get a wee break from golf, so I come home and just think I could do with going out and getting away for a bit and then get back to it again which is quite good. I mean you are happy to see your friends and get a good chat filling in all the gossip of what's been happening. It works out quite well. I think it's okay" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01).

While one could argue that golf for her is a way of life, she is realistic enough to keep a sense of proportion in her life. Being highly accomplished at junior level, she is considering a future in golf, one which might include becoming a professional. Although Jessie's formal education was curtailed by leaving school, she did have the opportunity to experience and develop her skills in competition with women at the highest level prior to the Second World War. If the situation had been different she might have played throughout the 1940s and entered the professional realm long before the late 1950s.

8.5 Golf scholarships at Scottish universities and in the USA

One of the ways open to girls in the 1990s is to combine a higher education qualification with further training in golf through the golf scholarship scheme. Scholarships or bursaries have become a fairly recent innovation in British universities since the early 1990s. Students are required to undertake an agreed programme of preparation, practise and competition under the supervision of a director. In Scotland, the Universities of Edinburgh and Stirling offer golf bursaries but the choice of universities offering places overseas is greater. With several Scottish girls already studying on golf scholarships in the USA, Vikki Laing's aim is to follow the same course and combine a degree with further training in golf.[39] While some have made the decision to do this within the Scottish university system, Vikki did not believe that she would make the same progress in Scotland.

> "No, I think the facilities in America are a lot better and with the weather it's the place to be ... Yeah, there's a lot more competition over there and the coaching and all the facilities they have, it's the place to be if you want to improve any ... You can golf all through the year over there, which is a big help and also they have so much more competitions, I'm not saying they are better golfers, but there's a lot more golfers over there and that's where good sponsorship is, where everything is, America" (Vikki Laing SA 1998.01)

One recipient of a golf bursary at the University of Edinburgh understood why so many girls set their sights on the USA.

> "Well I mean it's the facilities, the weather, everything ... I mean these people that are going to the States, they are getting scholarships worth thousands. They are not just getting, you know ... £1250 [40] or what have you ... They are in a team as well and the college circuit across there is just nothing compared to over here, I mean, we don't even have a college circuit here. Some of the golf is televised over there on college circuits. It's fantastic, the women's team, it's just so good it's incomparable I don't think that Scotland will ever get to that at all" (Name withheld, 1999).[41]

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[39] At the time of interview (1998), Vikki was in fifth year at secondary school.

[40] This is what a golf bursar might expect at the University of Edinburgh for a year.

[41] This golfer decided that because of family commitments, her future lay in getting a degree at a Scottish University.

There is no doubt that the attractions of playing in a warm climate and having regular competition outweighs the prospect of taking up the opportunities offered within the university system in Scotland for some girls.[42] If golf is important to girls as a future career (perhaps in the professional ranks), then the experience of playing in the USA can have more appeal than to remain in Scotland. Golf scholarships in the USA are not particularly difficult to obtain, as many of the places are unused by American students and therefore the prestigious colleges and universities actively seek to recruit foreign players. If Scottish girls do take up the offers then consequently this can have a detrimental effect on the standard of the Scottish team golf if some of the elite squad members are studying abroad and are not available for team training sessions during term time.

If girls have chosen to develop their golf skills at the University of Edinburgh, each bursar is reviewed annually and assessed on their results in competitions and championships, selection for representative teams, academic progress and attitude and conduct. The golf bursary system at Edinburgh inaugurated in 1992 is endowed by the R&A. One of the first female golfers who received a bursary from the University of Edinburgh in 1995 acknowledged that one had to justify receiving the award each year which could be important.

> "It doesn't work as a scholarship and you don't get it for four years ... you re-apply every year at Edinburgh, which I suppose is good. It's based on your performance and who is using the money and who is not ... for competitive purposes rather than just clothing and things like, that so it works out quite well" (Name withheld)

Edinburgh has been fortunate in having a strong female representation which has included two of the leading Scottish players, Lesley Nicholson and Anne Laing among a number of females in the 1990s. Gillian Kirkwood, an employee of the University of Edinburgh as well as being Vice-Chairman of the SLGA, was keen to introduce a more formalised structure to inter-university golf for the bursars. She felt that there were enough talented players to merit a structured inter-university golf championship. By representing their individual universities this could result in keen competition with people of a similar age and standard rather than having to rely on competition with teams from local golf clubs.

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[42] In 2000, ten Scottish girls including Vikki are at colleges or universities in the USA on the golf scholarship scheme (*Women and Golf* January/February 2000:60).

> "A lot of these girls have got bursaries at these universities and you feel that they could actually benefit from a bit more playing against each other, so I was trying to get them enthused about playing a league system. St Andrews, for instance, they virtually have a fixture every week, but they play people like Elie Ladies' and St Rule Ladies' and Murrayfield Ladies' and so on. Edinburgh is the same. Edinburgh comes out and plays Gullane Ladies', but it's not between themselves, because half the fun was travelling to these places ... At the moment they have very strong girls in University golf. We've got Lesley Nicholson, Hilary Monaghan, Anne Laing, Clare Hargan, so that's four of the Scottish team who are actually at university at the moment, as well as a whole lot of others that are doing bursaries at Stirling and so on" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

This is one element of university golf which differs from an earlier time when inter-university fixtures for women were an important and a regular feature of university life. During the 1950s and 60s, the week long inter-university matches which were a regular feature have since been discontinued because of financial considerations. As secretary and captain of the University of Edinburgh golf team in the 1960s, Gillian Kirkwood experienced the keen competition of inter-university fixtures at a time when there were many outstanding players at Scottish universities.

> "We needed a team of six to play in things like the Scottish Universities' Team Championships and we really had quite a good team ... we won the team championship, I think a couple of years ... St Andrews always had quite a few good girls as well and we played Aberdeen ... and there was a Glasgow team, so Scottish Universities' was between Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrews and Aberdeen and in those days we played each other home and away during the winter and the spring terms and then at Easter, we had a whole week where we played each other, foursomes in the morning and singles in the afternoon, a bit like the inter-county championships ... But it was really good, you got to know the girls really well from the other universities and the great feeling of "see you next year" sort of thing" (Gillian Kirkwood SA 1998.08).

Within the bursary system, the universities of Edinburgh and Stirling offer women golfers coaching and a degree of competition, but they have to compete with the undoubted attractions of golf scholarships in American universities, where more frequent inter-college competition and ultimately the opportunity for lucrative sponsorship might be viewed by some as more advantageous for a future career in golf. Scottish golfers need to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of pursuing

golf in the Scottish system or in the USA. For those who have take the path in the USA, the experience can be rewarding. Janice Moodie from Glasgow, a former psychology student at San Jose, California is now a successful professional sponsored in the USA, playing mainly on the American tour. **Fig.38** Of those who have followed the scholarship path in Scotland, Lesley Nicholson at the University of Edinburgh has benefited from additional funding of a National Lottery grant and on completion of her sports science degree in 1999, decided to turn professional. It would be misleading to assume that all elite golfers follow the bursary or scholarship route but this opportunity which was not available in the past is one which in the long run must benefit the future of Scottish women's golf.

When we reflect on the changes which have occurred in the 20th century, the opportunities and choices available to Vikki Laing at the end of the 1990s as opposed to Jessie Valentine in the 1930s might appear obvious. Golf is still a sport where the influence of a family is felt to most effect. Jessie's father, as a professional golfer recognised that his daughter had a potential which could be developed to the full under his guidance. With sufficient resources she was able to take the opportunity to travel abroad to play competitive golf at the highest levels unlike girls from less fortunate families who would not have had the opportunity to travel let alone play golf. Vikki, while considering her future has the opportunity to develop her talents in the competitive field in Scotland and in Europe as a member of the Scottish squad of elite players. She too is supported by a family who are prepared to maintain her financially if she is accepted for a golf scholarship.[43]

[43] At the time of submission of this thesis (2002), Vikki Laing is in the final year of a golf scholarship at Berkeley, University of California where she is studying for a degree in psychology.

CONCLUSION

> "No-one need despair of playing golf. Anyone gifted with ordinary strength can train themselves by perseverance and trouble to play not only sufficiently well to amuse themselves but really well" (May Hezlet)

This thesis has examined ways in which women have participated in golf in Scotland throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. By considering the importance of time, place and social milieu, the ethnological approach has highlighted the experiences of those individuals at a social and competitive level. The chapters demonstrate ways in which Scottish women are part of the historical and cultural experience of golf in Britain as a whole. The introduction to golf through the networks of the family, the educational system and the golf clubs have also provided a framework for discussion. The case study approach and the methodology applied has focused on women in the East of Scotland, however, this approach could be applied equally to other regions of Scotland.

Consideration has been given to the way golf developed primarily as a fashionable sociable pursuit of the wealthy middle-class in the late 19th century, to a game which involved an element of competition as well as opportunities for middle-class women to socialise. We have shown how the gendered nature of sport in the 19th century allowed women to participate within socially constructed boundaries - with gender relationships based on sexual difference and power in the sport. By first demonstrating their femininity in their manner of play and attiring themselves to reflect this, women's participation in the game was deemed acceptable. Tennis and golf, considered to be appropriate because they were less identifiably masculine than most team games, could be played in a way that emphasised rhythm and timing rather than physical strength.

Not content with being mere spectators of the men's game in the second half of the 19th century, we have seen that Scottish women appeared bold in taking a lead and forming the first golf club in St Andrews, but we must conclude that while the men of the Royal &Ancient supported them in terms of providing prizes and encouragement in this endeavour, golf in Scotland was perceived as a 'man's game'. Therefore it was the English who were more enthusiastic about the competitive game and who took charge. But it must be argued that those who did take the lead in England were, to some extent, indirectly influenced by Scotland. Miss Issette Pearson's idea to form the Ladies' Golf Union in 1893 was endorsed by a Scot,

Laidlaw Purves, who was aware that Scottish women, although not competing on a national level, were capable of doing so if they organised themselves. It was Miss Grainger, although English by birth, who had made a base in St Andrews and was familiar enough with the traditions of golf in Scotland, who activated the interest of the Scots by establishing a Scottish Championship in 1903, which resulted in the formation of the Scottish Ladies' Golfing Association the following year. The documentary material relating to the 'English' experience has proved a valuable source, affirming that by the late 19th century, organised golf was well structured and purposeful. This was in no small measure due to the determination and perseverance of Miss Pearson who considered that the women's game would benefit from a uniformity of rules and a system of handicapping recognised by all participants.[1] Those who shaped women's golf into an ordered form were the ones who were prepared to devote their time and energy to its organisation and consequently curtailed their own participation in order that others would benefit.

Throughout the 20th century we have focused on aspects of golf which reflect continuity as well as change. In the latter part of the 20th century, the material gathered from oral sources is important as not only does it highlight the individual experience, particularly in the East of Scotland in the 20th century, but it acts as a counterbalance viewed in relation to other written historical source material representing the female experience in Britain as a whole.

In the social networks of family, school and club, participation examined in terms of class, age and gender have shown some similarities as well as differences. The family has been acknowledged as being a key factor in introducing women to golf. We have seen that members of a family, especially men have been instrumental in guiding, encouraging and influencing girls to take up golf. The majority of informants recognised how important it was to have the support of a parent. This is substantiated in autobiographical accounts, where writers emphasis just how influential families, especially father figures can be. Cecil Leitch, for example, considered her father not only to be encouraging to her brother in his pursuit of golf, but also to the five girls in her family, laying out for them a small golf course in Silloth-on-Sea where they could play (Leitch 1911:22).

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[1] The records of the LGU from 1893 confirm the meticulous administrative skills of Issette Pearson as Honorary Secretary.

Concerning the question of learning the game while at school, we can conclude that in the schools examined in East Lothian and Fife, golf was seen to be a minority sport. Catherine Purves (SA 1998.06) from Dunbar who initiated the coaching scheme at Dunbar Grammar School had done so because she wanted to stimulate interest among girls who might not necessarily have a background in golf. While some of those involved in the scheme had no experience before coming for lessons and just wanted the opportunity to try something new, others had already been playing with family members. The St Leonards girls on the other hand, had already experienced playing in the family situation, but not necessarily in St Andrews. While some were intent on serious participation, the majority were enjoying the opportunity to try out golf. These girls were able to play golf outside school hours on the public links as well as take part in competitions within their own school golf club, unlike the girls from Dunbar, who sometimes had to use the public park for practising as very few had access to Dunbar Golf Club, except when they were having lessons.

The difficulties of learning and the frustrations of coping with peer pressure as well as the delight in achieving even a modest success in gaining a basic certificate for effort, are evidence of the direct personal experience "from within" (Thompson 1988:273). While evidence of participation can be found recorded in data form in school reports, without the addition of personal testimony, little would be revealed of the human experience emerging in the immediate observations of those involved. This is vindicated in hearing first-hand from girls who appreciate the efforts of their instructors. One is surprised however, that in Dunbar and St Andrews which have historical associations with golf, the sport is not played by more young people.

This thesis has, unlike other studies considered that older women have a part to play and are a significant element in golf. The benefits of physical activity for the elderly through exercise such as is required in golf, are reflected in the proliferation of older women who are members of golf clubs and can still get pleasure from being active in the open air. As has been demonstrated from the evidence of informants, the 'active elderly' in golf clubs have been identified as those over sixty who play two to three times a week. Jessie Valentine, in the 1990s now plays golf "for the exercise" and indicates the benefits of regular games with a ninety year old friend at Blairgowrie who, when she gets on the tee says, "now remember I'm ten years older than you"... and proceeds to play eighteen holes! (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104). Male as

well as female informants have all emphasised the point that retirement from work does not signify retirement from golf. Many of them consider that, like Jessie's friend, "that it's wonderful that people can still go out and play at that age" (Jessie Valentine SA 1995.103&104). Ethel Jack reiterates the point about golf being a game where, "your handicap may go up as you get older, but you can still enjoy it ... one can still take pleasure in hitting the one good shot which brings you back again" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105). While the older player has given golf a mature image, club professionals indicate that this age group can have a positive effect on a club as they frequent, not only the clubhouse facilities, but have money to spend updating their golfing equipment and clothing. Neil Colquhoun, the professional attached to the Merchants of Edinburgh Golf Club and other club professionals consider that a well stocked professional's shop can be an important gender space and can attract women to investing in golf related material as well as seeking advice on how they can continue to improve their game.

In the process of reviewing the male experience, the traditional concept of male dominance in golf has been of primary concern in understanding their relationship to women in the game in Scotland. Women's position in the game reflects a subordinate status, but within their own clubs and governing bodies, they have some degree of autonomy. This however calls into question men's motives and while they have, as the oral sources indicate, generally encouraged, influenced and inspired women to take up the game, they have at the same time reinforced a control and dominance as a powerful majority, in their authoritative control of golf clubs. This brings into question the contradictory nature of attitudes expressed by women golfers, where on the one hand, we have individuals who express their anger over their lack of power in golf clubs and those who accept what they have, but realise that they have little control after decisions have been made.

In order to qualify from grants from the Lottery Sports Fund, several Scottish golf clubs agreed to grant equal rights to women. Equality of provision in golf clubs requires that all recipients of lottery funding enter into a contract that ensures they operate an equal opportunities policy. This means that if there are different levels of

membership such as 'full and 'restricted', they have to be open to everyone regardless of gender, age, race or occupation. As Polley (1998:7) observes, on the question of equal opportunities, "if society changes then sport cannot remain the same".

In Scotland lottery awards are conditional upon constitutional changes in clubs (*Women and Golf* April 1998). Crail Ladies' Golf Club, "associate" members of Crail Golfing Society of Balcombie in Fife, had been asking for full voting rights at various stages throughout their existence and although they had been allowed to attend AGM's, had no say in any decision making. When the club decided it wanted to build a golf course adjacent to the links in 1996, the members voted to accept the ladies as full members in order to qualify for a grant of £442,000 (*The Scotsman February* 14 1996). Other clubs have a different attitude to financial assistance and are not willing to change their constitution, even to accept lottery money. Pride in preserving a 'male only' identity appears to be paramount in the long established clubs such as Muirfield and Luffness in East Lothian and Bruntsfield and the Royal Burgess in Edinburgh. Not all agree with change being a positive measure, as, if it goes against what has been traditional, it can lead to conflict. Fear of radical change is something which keeps these clubs single sex. If women do 'visit' it is made to feel like a privilege rather than a normal event. Ethel Jack has seen 'inside' Muirfield, when the LGU were given permission for a Canadian team to visit in the 1970s, but as she said, "we were whisked round" (Ethel Jack SA 1995.105).

While no analysis can claim to provide the definitive investigation and questions remain to be considered regarding the accessibility of golf, it is clear that gender, equality, class and access are themes which will continue to dominate the debate and will be the source of further academic studies. Although the earlier period offers valuable lessons which should not be forgotten, the separate development of the game at organisational level has made some women in the latter part of the 20th century question the relevance of a game which appears to exclude rather than include. However, women involved in golf in Scotland can claim to be a small but nevertheless significant part of the legacy of this sport.

Appendix 1

Scottish Ladies' Championship - St Andrews June 16 1903

In the first Scottish Ladies' Championship 40 ladies competed in match play for the title of Lady Champion over the Old Course. The majority represented a club but there were also some who entered as individuals.

Individual entries

Crail:	Miss Woodcock
Dornoch:	Mrs Mundell
Dumbarton:	Miss E.Wedgewood
Hilltarvit:	Miss Jean Russack
Kingussie:	Miss Hunter

Golf Club entries

Blairgowrie:	**(2)** Miss V. H. Anderson, Mrs Stuart Honeyman,
Edinburgh:	**(3)** Miss J.G. Broun, Miss M.A.Cairns, Miss N. Rolland.
Elie & Earlsferry:	**(1)** Miss A. Glover.
Helensburgh:	**(2)** Mrs Snell Anderson, Miss Miss Isobel Ure.
Lundin:	**(1)** Mrs McTavish.
Machrihanish:	**(1)** Miss L.Colville.
Montrose:	**(3)** Miss Duncan, Miss Harvey, Miss A.E.Woodward.
Musselburgh:	**(2)** Miss M. Clapperton, Miss E. MacCankie.
North Berwick:	**(1)** Miss D.Campbell.
Panmure:	**(1)** Miss Drimmie.
Portobello:	**(2)** Miss J. Park, Miss M. Park.
St Andrews:	**(4)** Mrs Archdale, Miss Cathcart, Mrs McMahon, Miss D. Moir.
St Nicholas, Prestwick:	**(2)**Miss Hamilton Campbell, Miss E. Guthrie.
St Rule: St Andrews	**(10)**Miss Bett, Mrs Fowler, Miss M.A.Graham, Miss Munro, Mrs J.B.Grimond, Miss Nimmo, Miss L.Sandeman, Miss Todd, Miss Turner, Mrs Turner.

46 originally entered but only 40 names appear in the *St Andrews Citizen* on June 20 1903.

42 players played in the stroke play competition the previous day.

22 clubs contributed towards the initial expenses of holding the Championship although only 14 are represented (Minute of the St Rule Club 1903).

Appendix II

Ladies' Golf Clubs in Scotland
1867 - 1903

Founded	Name	Affiliated to LGU	
1867	St Andrews L.G.C.		
1872	Musselburgh L.G.C.		
1873	Carnoustie L.G.C. 124 members -1899	1912	
1882	Aboyne L.G.C. Aberdeenshire	1913	
	Troon L.G.C. Ayrshire par 74	1902	
1883	Stirling L.G.C, par 78 -1551 yards	1903	
1884	Elie &Earlsferry L.G.C. short course		
1885	Cupar L.G.C.		
1887	Nairn L.G.C.	1911	
1888	North Berwick L.G.C.	1913	
1889	Haddington L.G.C.		
1889	Moray L.G.C. Lossiemouth, Morayshire		
1890	Grantown L.G.C.		
	Lundin L.G.C.		
	Machrihanish L.G.C. 100 members -1899	1908	
	Montrose L.G.C.	1910	
	Nairn L.G.C.		
1891	Bearsden L.G.C.	1909	
	Leven L.G.C.		
	Skelmorlie (Ayrshire)	1911	
1892	Aberdeen L.G.C. Balgownie, 9 holes - 1899	1897	
	Hawick L.G.C.		
	Rothesay L.G.C. Bute	1909	
	West Kilbride L.G.C.	1911	
1893	Baberton L.G.C. Edinburgh		1910
	Helensburgh L.G.C.	1908	
	Irvine L.G.C. Ayrshire	1910	
	Panmure L.G.C. Monifieth, Forfar	1912	
	Portobello 36 members - par 78	1903	
1894	Edinburgh L.G.C. 375 ladies, 150 men	1897	
	Moffat L.G.C. Dumfriesshire	1910	
	Paisley L.G.C. Renfrewshire	1909	
	St Nicholas L.G.C. Prestwick, Ayrshire	1903	
1895	Bridge of Allan L.G.C.	1907	
	Craigmillar Park G.C. Edinburgh	1904	
1895	Glasgow North-Western L.G.C.		
	Ruchill House, Lanarkshire	1910	
	Kilmalcolm L.G.C. Renfrewshire	1912	
	Torwoodlee L.G.C. Galashiels	1914	
1896	Murrayfield L.G.C. Edinburgh	1905	

1896	Musselburgh L.G.C.* 60 ladies, 50 men	1902
1897	Elie & Earlsferry L.G.C.* 18 holes - par 94	1903
1897	King JamesVI L.G.C. Moncrieffe Island Perth	1911
1897	Newton Stewart L.G.C. Wigtonshire	1910
1898	St Rule L.G.C. St Andrews, Fife - par 96	1903
1900	Dunblane L.G.C. Perthshire	1909
1901	Dollar L.G.C. Clackmannan	1909
1901	Douglas Park L.G.C. Hillfort/Glasgow	1909
1901	Stonehaven L.G.C. Kincardineshire	1914
1903	Alexandra L.G.C. St Andrews	1905
1903	Deeside L.G.C. Bieldside, Aberdeenshire	1910

By 1903, 9 clubs are affiliated to LGU - Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Elie, Musselburgh, Portobello, St Nicholas, Stirling, St Rule, Troon.

*** courses extended or clubs reconstituted**

Source: ***LGU Official Year Book*** **1914**

GLOSSARY

Terms used in Golf

In most sports certain terms, words and phrases are used to describe or indicate procedures and ways of playing. Golf has an assortment of unique terms, some of which are no longer in current usage.

To baff: to strike the ground with the **'sole'** of the clubhead in playing. This sends the ball high in the air and causes it to fall 'dead'.[1]*

Baffy: a wooden club with a very lofted face.*

Brassey or **Brassie:** a wooden club with a brass sole.*

Bye: any hole that remains to be played after the match is finished.*

Carry/Carries: the distance from the spot where the ball is played to the spot where it lands.

Chip: a short stroke used to lift the ball in the air.

Cleek: an iron headed club - used for driving.*

Divot: a piece of turf cut out by the passage of the club when striking the ball.

Dormy: a player is said to be 'dormy' when he/she is as many holes ahead as there remain holes to play.*

Draw: to **drive** widely to the left hand; synonymous with 'pull', 'hook' and 'screw'.*

Drive: strike (the ball) for a distance shot; to play off the **tee**.

Duff: to hit the ground behind the ball.*

Face: the side of the club head which makes contact with the ball.

Follow-through: the movement of the hands and arms after the ball has been hit. A good follow-through will more often follow a good stroke than a bad one.

Foozle: a bungling stroke.*

Fore!: contracted from BEFORE - a warning cry to a person in the way of a stroke.*

Foursomes: a form of **match play** played in teams with two players on each side.

Green: the piece of finely turfed grass used as the putting green - formerly the fairway or the whole course.

Guttie or gutty: golf ball made of gutta-percha, a rubber-like substance obtained chiefly from the latex of certain Malayan trees. The guttie replaced the ball made from a leather cover stuffed with feathers about 1848.

Haskell ball: a ball wound with rubber yarn under tension named after its inventor Coburn Haskell. This ball superseded the **'guttie'** from 1902 onwards.

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[1] Source of definitions marked, * compiled by Miss Starkie-Bence to 'assist' players. See Frances E.Slaughter (1898) (ed) *The Sportswoman's Library.* Vol I.

Hickory: The wood from which many shafts were made in the days before the advent of steel shafts.

Hole: the small circular cavity in the **green** into which the ball is to be played; **the holes:** the distance between each **tee** and its **hole**.

Lie: the position of the ball or the spot on which it lies.

Mashie: an iron club with a deep short blade.*

Match play: the form of golf where the winner is the player who has won more holes than there are **holes** left to play. Match play is calculated by holes. This was the original form of the game.

Net: the score of the player with handicap deducted.

Niblick: a small narrow-headed heavy iron club used in a bad **lie**.*

Par: the score in which a first class player should play a hole.

Par of the course: the score in which a first class player is expected to go round the whole course.

Plus: a handicap of less than **scratch**; a player is said to play off 'plus' one or 'plus' two.

Putt: to strike the ball with a (series of) gentle tap (s) so as to move it towards the hole.

Sclaff: to hit the ground behind the ball - not getting a clean stroke.*

Scratch: someone who has a handicap of 0.

Singles: a form of **match play** where one player is matched against another.

Sole: the flat bottom of the clubhead.

Standard scratch: the basic Standard Scratch Score of each course is fixed according to the length of the course. Measurements are taken by chain along the middle of the fairways from a point six feet in front of the standard medal tee to the centre of the green of each hole.[2]

Stroke play: also called **medal play**. The form of golf in which the winner is the player who holes the course in the least number of strokes.

stymie: a shot in which one's ball lands on the green not less than six inches from one's opponent's ball, in a direct line between it and the hole, so as to obstruct his/her **putt** (abolished from the rules in 1952). The player whose ball is furthest from the hole has either to play around the ball or **chip** (lift) his/her shot over the ball - from a Scots word meaning 'obscure' or 'thwart'.*

Tee: the small peg from which the ball is driven at the start of each hole; to **tee off:** to begin to play at the start of each hole.

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[2] A fuller definition is given in W. Evans (1971) *Encyclopaedia of Golf.* See Bibliography.

ILLUSTRATIONS

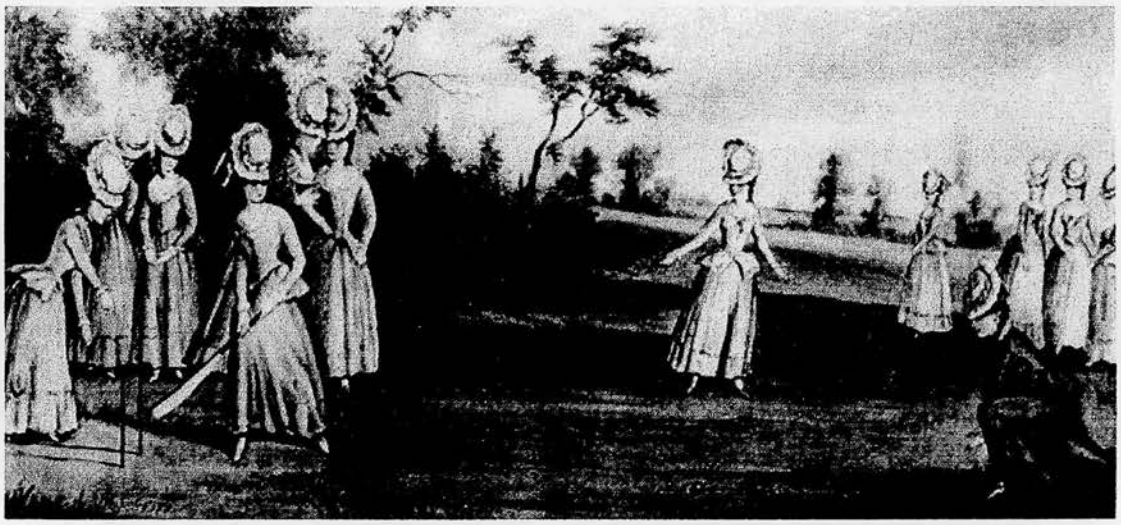

Fig.1 Countess of Derby and ladies playing cricket - 1779 (MCC Collection)

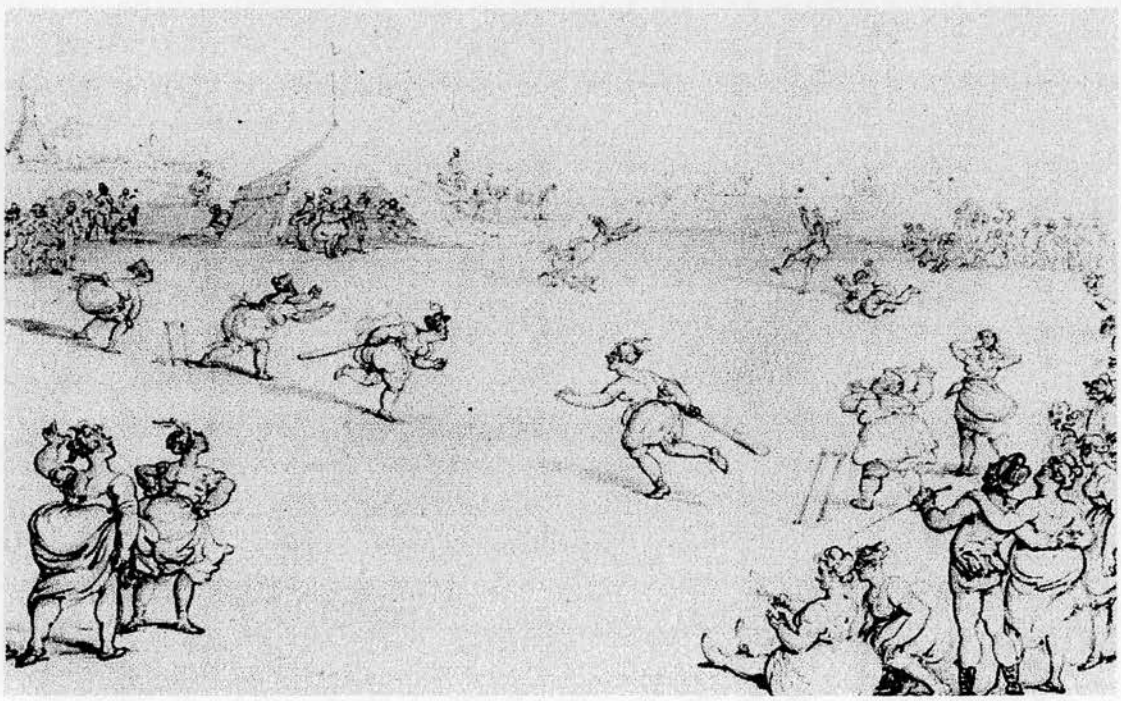

Fig.2 Village cricket – 1811 - Rowlandson cartoon (MCC Collection)

Fig.3 Lady curlers at Penicuik - 1847. Watercolour (Sir John Clerk of Penicuik)

Fig.4 Lady Eglinton curling on a pond at Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire - 1860.

Watercolour by A.A.A. (Ursula, Countess of Eglinton)

Fig.5 Issette Pearson, secretary of the LGU - c.1900 (LGU)

Fig.5a Competitors at the British Ladies' Open Championship at Gullane - 1897 (M. Brown)

Fig.5b Agnes Grainger of the SLGA - c.1902 (St Rule Club)

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Fig.9 Ladies' Fun competition day at the MEGC - 1929 (MEGC)

Fig.10 Presentation of trophy at the 'Morison Millar' Tournament, Dalmahoy 1932 (J.Henderson)

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Fig.12 Alice Clark (extreme left) at MEGC Dinner - 1992 (J.George)

Fig.13 Marjorie Whitton (left) and Prissie Miller, MEGC - 1996 (J.George)

Fig.14 Golfers at St Andrews - 1889 (M.Crane)

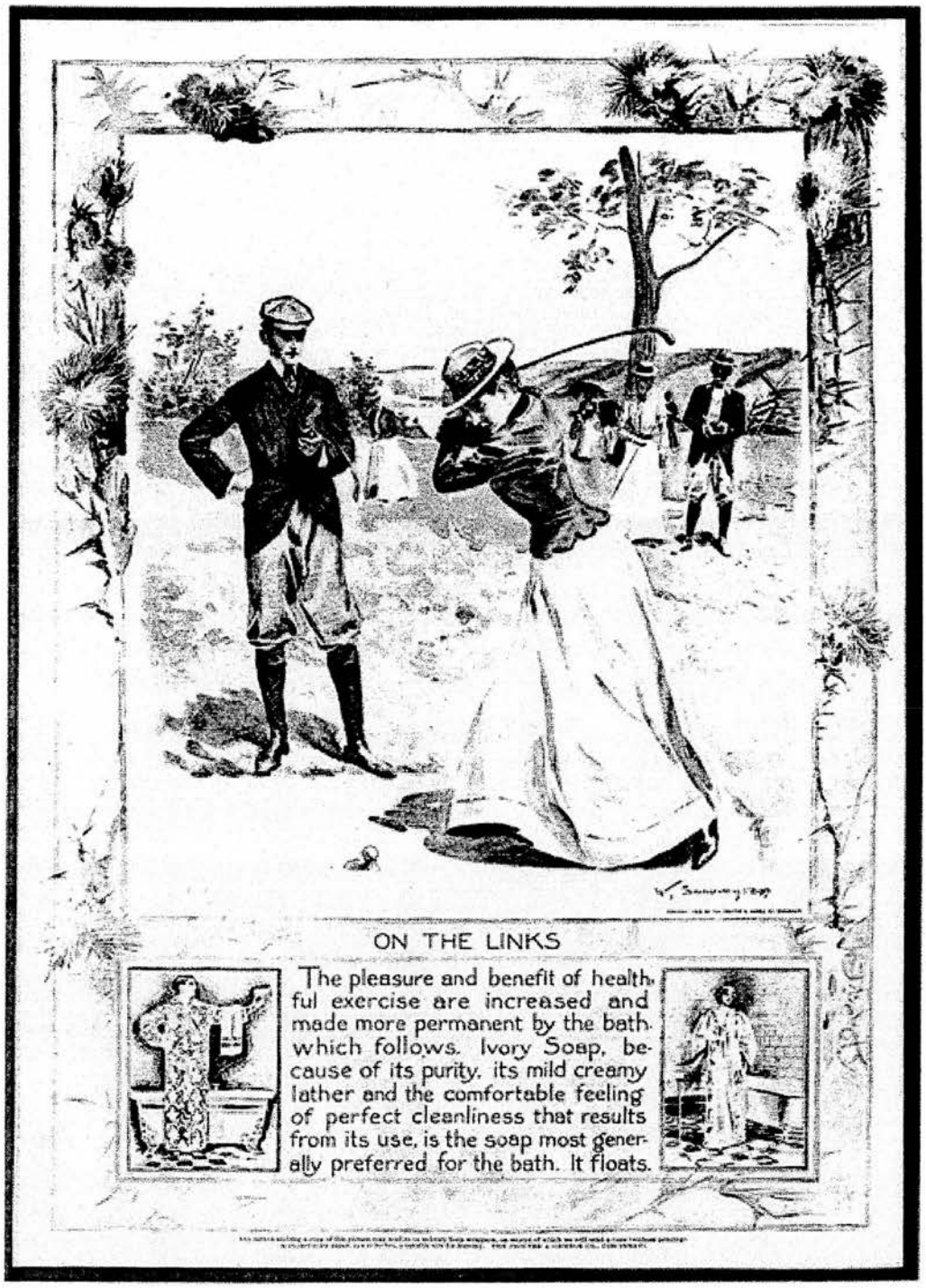

Fig.15 Advertisement for Proctor and Gamble soap - 1889 (Proctor & Gamble, Cincinnati)

Fig.16 Lady Margaret Scott, first winner of the British Ladies' Open Championship - 1893 (Women Golfers' Museum)

Fig.17 Lady Margaret 'in action' - 1893 (LGU)

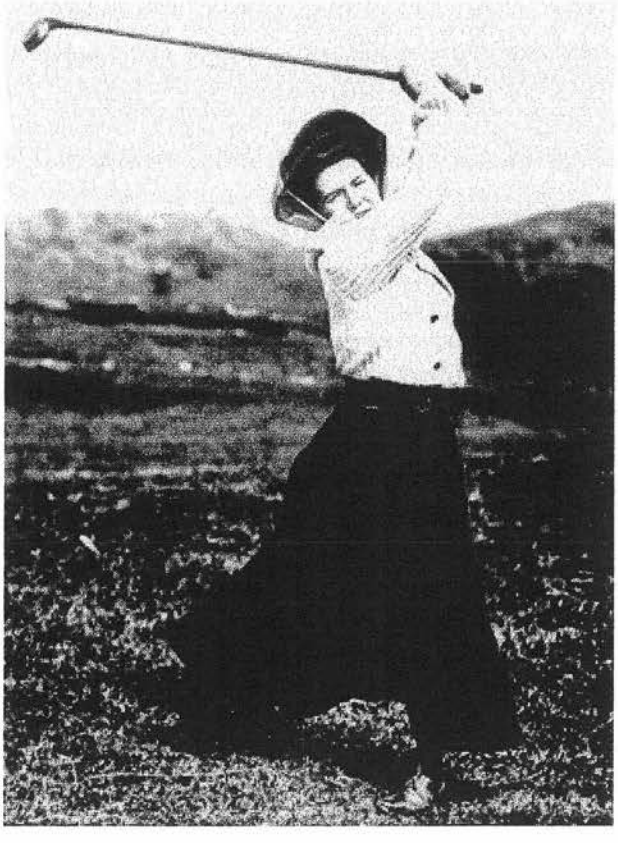

Fig.18 Ida Kyle of St Andrews wearing 'Miss Higgens' band - 1910 (*Ladies' Field*)
Fig.19 May Hezlet in motor cap and veil - c.1903 (Women Golfers' Museum)
Fig.20 "Free stroke" coat by Burberry - 1904 (E. Ewing)

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Fig. 21a Alexa Glover - 1904 (*Lady's Pictorial*)

Fig.22 Cecil Leitch at the British Ladies' Open Championship, St Andrews - 1908 (M. Millar)

Fig.23 Dorothy Campbell wearing a belted jacket - 1911 (M. Crane)

Fig.24 Charlotte Watson (née Stevenson) - 1920 (SLGA)

Fig.25 Joyce Wethered - 1920 (LGU)

Fig.26 Cecil Leitch 'in action' - 1920 (*Ladies' Field*)

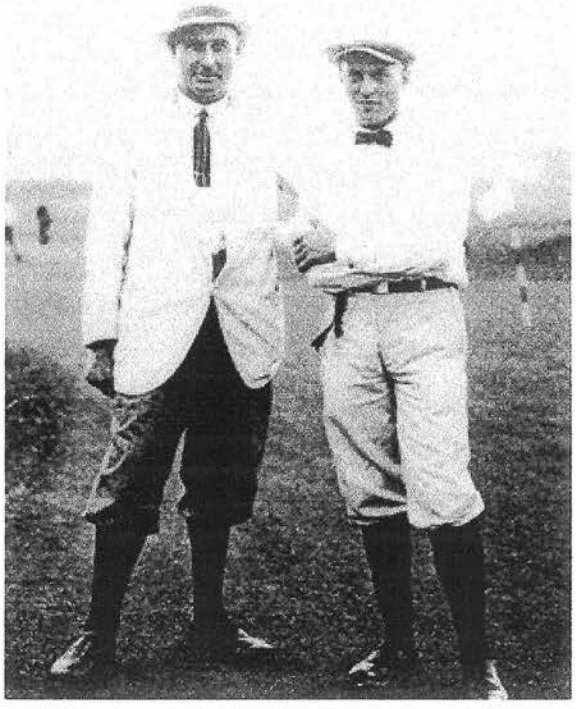

Fig.27 Harry Vardon & Bobby Jones in plus fours - c.1920 (G. H. Schwarz)

Fig.28 Golfers wearing skirts with large hems - c.1920 (I. Smith)

Fig.29 The Dunlop jacket with "freedom" sleeve - 1933 (Dunlop Rubber Company)

Fig.30 Gloria Minoprio (right) - the first golfer to wear trousers at a championship - 1933 (LGU)

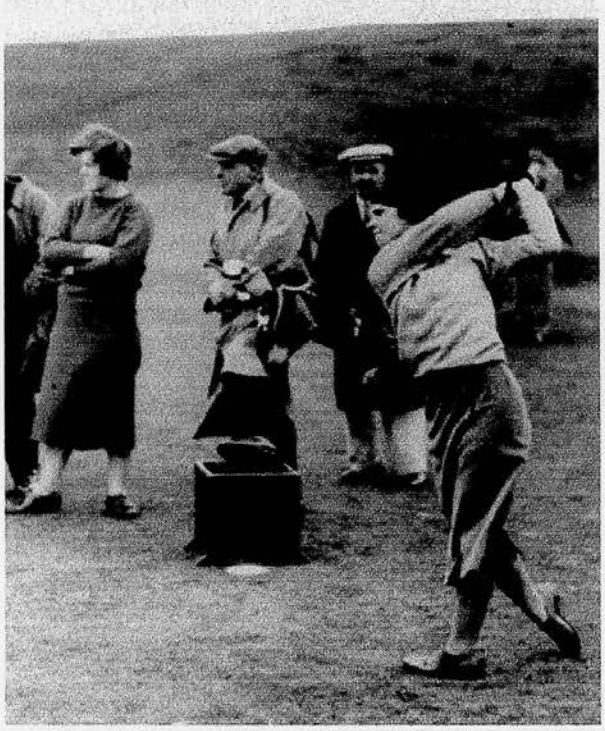

Fig.31 Jessie Valentine playing at Gleneagles - 1936 (J.Valentine)

Fig. 32 'Babe' Zaharias, winner of the British Ladies' Open Championship, Gullane - 1947 (R.Hale Ltd)

Fig.33 Helen Nimmo (second from left), Gleneagles - 1936 (H. Nimmo)

Fig.34 Barbara Romack (USA) with Jessie Valentine of Scotland (right), winner of the British Ladies' Open Championship - 1955 (LGU)

Fig.35 Tartan Trews at the 'Kayser Bonder' Foursomes Championship - 1961 (LGU)

Fig.36 Scottish Team uniform - 1962. Ethel Jack (back row on extreme right) (LGU)

Fig.37 Vikki Laing - 2000 (V. Laing)

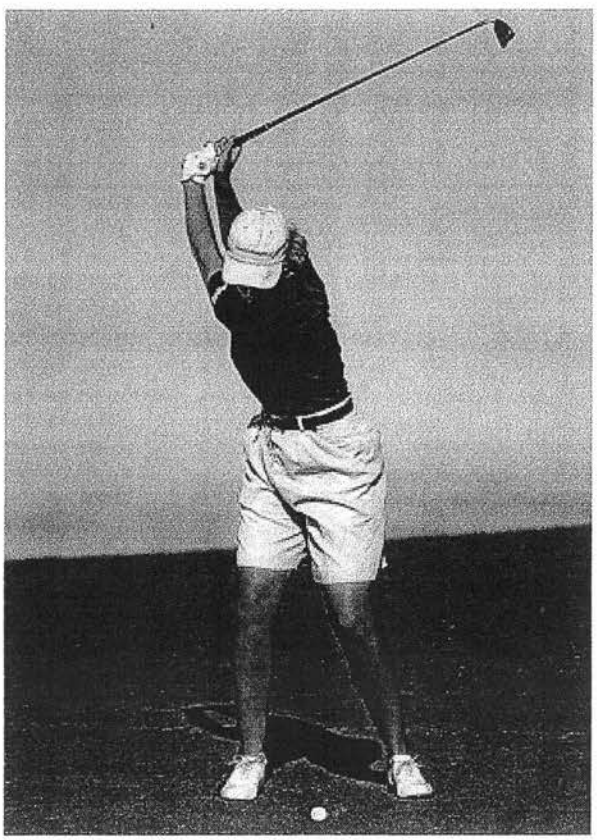

Fig.38 Janice Moodie - 2000 (N. Walker)

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